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HIS EXCELLENCY

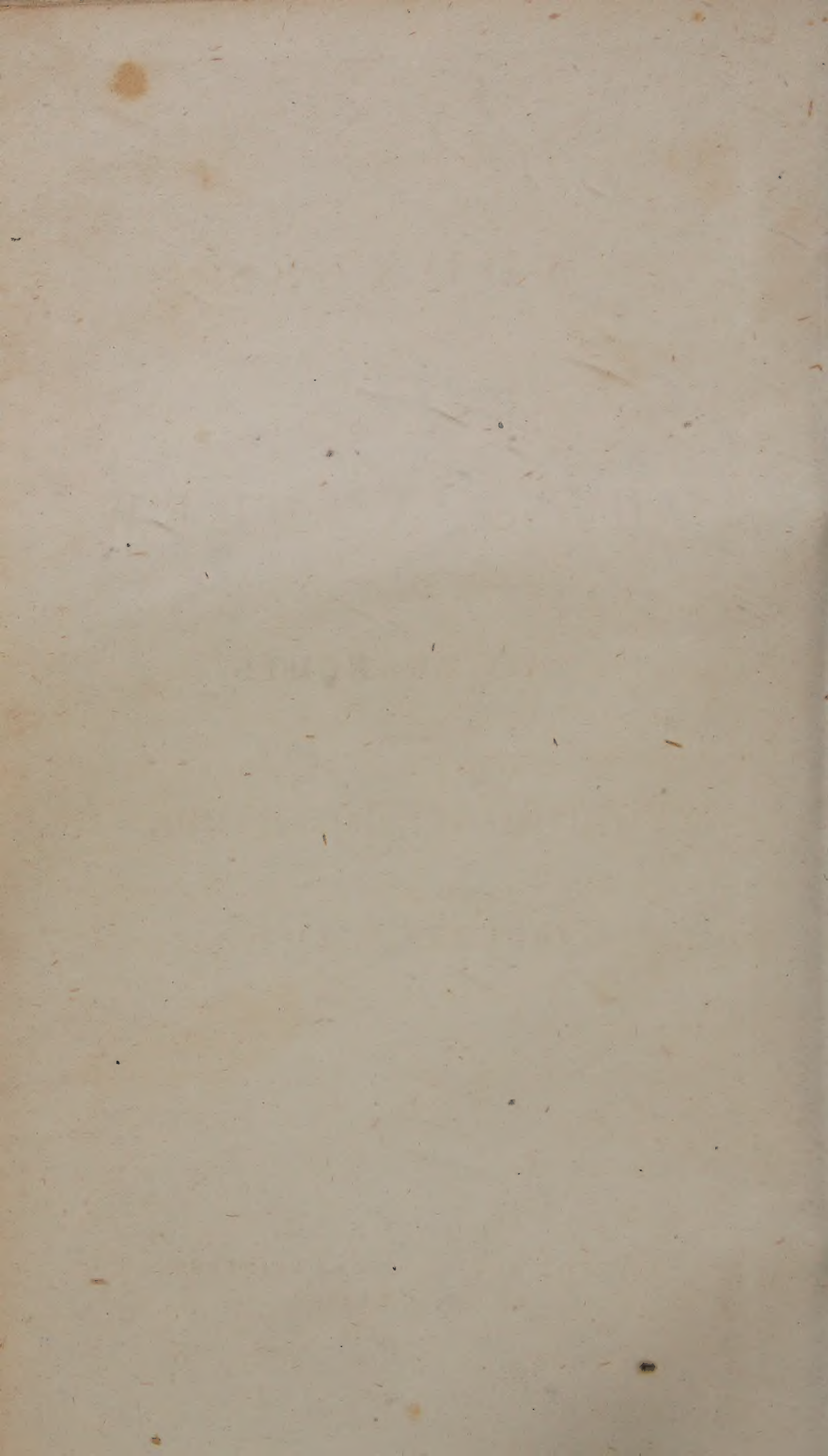
JOHN A. S. BROWN

TWO BRANCHES

Register of Massachusetts

JANUARY 1860

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SENATE.....

.....No. 1.

A D D R E S S

OF

HIS EXCELLENCY

J O H N A. A N D R E W,

TO THE

TWO BRANCHES

OF THE

Legislature of Massachusetts,

JANUARY 6, 1865.

BOSTON:

WRIGHT & POTTER, STATE PRINTERS,

No. 4 SPRING LANE.

1865.

ADDRESS.

GENTLEMEN OF THE SENATE AND

OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES:—

By the blessing of ALMIGHTY GOD, the People of Massachusetts witness to-day the inauguration of a new political year under circumstances in which the victories of the past, blended with bright and well-grounded hope for the future, assure the early return of National Peace, the firm establishment of Liberty, and auspicate the lasting glory of the Republic.

Let us mark the beginning of our official service by contemplating our field of obligation, our sphere of duty, and the means and opportunities of the Commonwealth.

To estimate correctly its financial condition, a careful survey of the Annual Reports of the Treasurer and of the Auditor will be needed. But for the purposes of this occasion I ask your observation of a summary of their results.

The *Liabilities* and *Resources* of the Commonwealth are these :

*Liabilities.**

Scrip loaned Railroad Corporations,	\$6,574,435	56
Scrip issued in '61, '62, '63, and '64,		
on account of war expenses,	6,188,500	00
Scrip issued for all other purposes,	1,610,000	00
Unfunded debt, including monthly		
pay due volunteers,	8,521,037	00
	<hr/>	\$22,893,972 56

*Resources.**

Productive property, consisting of		
sinking funds, &c., (and exclusive		
of School and other Trust Funds,		
(\$2,131,326,)	\$14,669,293	97
Unproductive property,	3,187,917	33
	<hr/>	\$17,857,211 30

The ordinary *Revenue*, and ordinary *Disbursements* of the Commonwealth during the year 1864, for other purposes than those provided for by loan, to which allusion will be made elsewhere, were as follows:—

Revenue.†

From all sources, including the corporation tax not		
yet distributed, and exclusive of loans,		\$5,840,317 61

Disbursements.†

For other purposes than those provided for by loans,	5,102,257	95
Leaving cash on hand,	<hr/>	\$738,059 66

Bounty Fund—Temporary Loans—Issue of New Bonds.

The General Court, by chap. 313 of the Acts of 1864, created a "Bounty Fund" and authorized the

* For details of Liabilities and Resources, see Appendix, [A.]

† For details of Revenue and Disbursements during the year, see Appendix, [B.]

issue of ten million dollars of scrip, at interest not exceeding five per cent. per annum, payable in gold, to "be sold and disposed of at public auction, or in such other mode and at such times and in such pieces and amounts as the Governor and Council shall deem for the best interest of the Commonwealth." By chap, 91, Acts of 1863, a Bounty Fund had been authorized, of \$1,500,000. Of this, \$200,000 in scrip was sold during that year, when that fund became merged in the ten million fund of 1864. The few weeks next following the adjournment of the Legislature of 1864, on the last day of whose session, (May 14,) the ten million Act was passed, witnessed extraordinary fluctuations and a surprising appreciation of gold, until on the first day of July it rose to the apparent market value of 185 per cent. premium. In fact, the history of the year was a history of unexampled fluctuation, disturbing all monetary transactions. After the scrip was ready for issue, the prevailing premiums were too dear to leave it wise, in our judgment, to involve the State without necessity, until legislative reëxamination, in the purchase of gold for the payment of interest on more bonds. And the high premiums were themselves too unsteady to render them a safe basis for the calculations of people having money to lend. The result was, that in selling new

bonds we should have incurred the risk of paying a rate of interest, which, when reckoned in currency, on the probable cost of gold, seemed excessive and disproportionate to the price for which the bonds could be sold. While we could borrow money at six per cent. interest, payable in currency, gold-bearing five per cent. bonds would not bring an excess above par, sufficient to reduce the apparent cost of the gold needed for their interest, to below twelve or fourteen per cent. Accordingly the Treasurer invited loans at call, under the provisions of sect. 7, of chapter 254 of the Acts of 1863; and the receipts from this source, with loans from the banks, under sect. 83, chapter 57 of the General Statutes, rendered it easy to suspend the sale of gold-bearing scrip.

This loan from the banks at five per cent. should be returned at the earliest practicable moment. The theory of the law under which it is made, is, that it is designed to meet a temporary exigency. It is not equitable to require the banks to make a permanent loan of money to the State at five per cent., while the State is paying six per cent. to others.

The loans at call have answered two good purposes. They absorb the surplus capital of the community on the best security, and at the same time relieve demands upon the Treasury. The

Act authorizing these call-loans, limited the interest to five per cent.; but early last summer it was found that deposits of the call-loan were becoming small, and previous deposits were rapidly withdrawn, money being fairly worth in the market more than five per cent. on solid securities. The Treasurer, therefore, by the advice of the Governor and Council—who deemed it their duty to assume the responsibility—advertised for loans at six per cent. The alternative was, to pay that rate in currency, or to issue five per cent. gold-bearing scrip, involving a cost of from twelve to fourteen per cent. interest in currency. The aggregate amount of interest thus paid by this addition of one per cent. interest, is about \$15,000. I recommend that the Legislature should legalize this payment, and should authorize a similar rate hereafter.

I have the honor also to recommend that authority be given to issue bonds for the funding of the residue of our floating debt, expressed either in dollars or in pounds sterling, and payable either in gold or in the lawful tender of the United States, at the discretion of the Executive Department. Sterling bonds have an advantage in the markets of Europe, over those of the other denominations, and therefore invite European purchasers. Bonds bearing interest payable in cur-

rency, will possess the merit, in appealing to domestic lenders, of offering a remuneration in money of the same kind in which their loans are made. And while gold, in its present demonetized condition, continues subject to all the fluctuations of an article of both commercial and political speculation, it may be better for the Commonwealth, not having the control of the currency, to conform to the familiar transactions of the home market, when it borrows money at home.

All the scrip hitherto issued by Massachusetts, she is bound to pay, and she will pay—both interest and principal—in gold, to all holders, with the cheerfulness which becomes her spotless honor, and the promptness of an industrious, economical and thrifty Commonwealth.

There is nothing in the present or probable indebtedness of the Commonwealth, to excite apprehension. In the Inaugural Address of January, 1861, I found the public debt to be \$8,103,039. To this has been added during the war, \$14,372,935, much the larger part of which is held by our own citizens; while, to say nothing of any other increase of wealth, of which the Report of the Valuation Committee will exhibit the evidence, *the increased deposits in our savings institutions alone, for 1864 over 1860, are more than \$3,000,000 in excess of our war debt.* So that the very depositors of savings, out of this increased

aggregate of their modest earnings saved and deposited, could lend money enough to pay the whole war debt of the Commonwealth, and have left on deposit as much as they had when the war began, and more than three millions of dollars besides.

Bounties.

I shall transmit, for the information of the Legislature, the report of the Paymasters appointed under the Act of 1863, chap. 254, to disburse the State bounties to Volunteers. By this report it will appear that, up to the 30th of November, 1864, the disbursements by the Paymasters amounted to \$8,235,882.53, and were paid to 28,775 volunteers enlisted in the Army, and 745 enlisted in the Navy. Previous to the appointment of Paymasters, the State Treasurer had disbursed the further sum of \$18,025 to 57 volunteers, under the same statute; and under the system of recruiting in rebel States, adopted by General Order No. 27, bounties have been paid to 1,295 men, amounting to the additional sum of \$417,700. There is an unpaid balance, upon the rolls in the hands of the Paymasters, of \$217,824.60. Of these unpaid bounties, some have been forfeited by desertion, or by rejection after muster for disability existing prior to enlistment, some probably belong to

prisoners, and others to men who intended to leave their money in the State Treasury on interest, and were not aware of the necessity of making allotments in proper form.

Beside the above, there are 3,560 volunteers for one year, who have elected to take \$20 per month, and are not entitled to any advance bounty.

The number of volunteers who have been paid directly, at the office of the Treasurer of the Commonwealth, the monthly bounty of \$20, is 13,043; and the bounties so paid amount to \$996,360.03.

There remain in the State Treasury to the credit of Massachusetts soldiers \$436,130.37, of which sum about \$30,000 is United States' pay allotted.

I cannot forbear, in the light of experience, to repeat the opinion that considerable bounties paid in advance, are not needful, nor even desirable for the procurement of real soldiers and honest service. We want not merely recruits, but men for the war; not mercenaries, but patriotic soldiers; men to whom the service means duty, and honor to themselves, happiness and welfare for their children hereafter to the latest generation. I am deeply impressed with the conviction declared in a former address, that in addition to a moderate bounty to enable the soldier to leave something behind to stock the household supplies, and

to secure his family from petty wants and cares at such a time, the best interest of the Government and of Society dictates the policy of equitable compensation, not the payment of more considerable bounties. The bounty of the Government ought to be reserved for liberal pensions, promptly paid, to the disabled soldier, to the widows and children of the dead who fell in the service of their country; for relief to families during the progress of the war, for whose exigencies the regular compensation of the soldier is inadequate. The picture drawn by Mr. Hamilton, (Federalist, No. 22,) of the experience of the country in the War of Independence, occasioned by competition between communities, aggravated by bounties, has been again realized throughout the land. Few men of this generation remembered the wisdom learned by our fathers. The words of their testimonies had been unheeded or forgotten. But before our present trials are over, the inexorable logic of reason, and of history, will have taught the people a lesson in this regard which they cannot fail to comprehend and remember. I do not know that this repetition of an old error, under the circumstances of the country, could well have been avoided; it was one of the natural evil consequences of the absence of military education, and of the absence of preparation

for the duties of public defence by the strong arms of the people.

The way to prevent the recurrence of these and many other evils is to organize and maintain in high efficiency the *Militia of the States*. The decay of the militia, and the neglect into which military education in the Free States had fallen, tempted the leading spirits of the rebellion to their tremendous experiment of crime. And it is due to the scattering fragments of *State Militia* which remained in the North, that the rebellion did not usurp the powers of the Union and destroy it, before the Federal Government had opportunity to collect its means and set them in motion.

State Banks—Institutions for Savings.

The number of Savings Institutions in operation in the Commonwealth is 98. Two more, incorporated by the Legislature of 1864, have been organized. Their progress and business derive especial interest from their being depositaries of the earnings of labor. They illustrate the distribution of wealth in our community, since no sum larger than \$1,000 is allowed by Statute to be held for any one depositor, other than a religious or charitable corporation.

The whole number of depositors in 97 Savings Banks (the Mercantile Savings Institution of Boston not being included in the "Abstracts,") is	291,616
The number of depositors in the year 1863 (95 banks) was	272,219
Showing an increase in 1864 of	19,397
The amount of deposits (in 97 Savings Banks,) is .	\$62,557,604 30
Against an amount in the year 1863 (in 95 banks,) of	56,883,828 55
Exhibiting an increase in 1864 of	\$5,673,775 75

a greater increase than in any one year before, except the year 1863, when it was \$6,480,154, and exhibiting an increase of deposits during the last four years of \$17,503,369.30.

The Savings deposit alone is larger than the *banking capital and Savings deposit* at the time the Bank Commission was established in 1851, when the capital of 130 banks was \$38,265,000, and the deposit in 45 Savings Institutions was \$15,554,088, their aggregate then being \$53,819,088.

The number of Banks in Massachusetts, organized under its laws, was, on January 1, 1864, 181, having a capital of \$66,841,200. An increase of capital was granted to one bank, of \$150,000, making in all \$66,991,200. Of these, 52, with a capital of \$25,801,700, have become National Banking Associations during the year, leaving 129, with a capital of

\$41,189,500, as State Banks on January 1, 1865. Of these, 47, having a capital of \$14,915,000, have signified their intention to become National, leaving 82 which, as yet, have taken no steps towards changing, with an aggregate capital of \$26,274,500. Of the 52 actually changed, 4 were established under our General Banking Act, their capital amounting to \$2,500,000, the other 48 being chartered banks, with a capital of \$23,301,700; their total capital being \$25,801,700. Of the 47 proposing to become National, one is a bank established under the General Act, having a capital of \$200,000, leaving among the 82 that remain, *one* only (the Revere,) with a capital of \$1,000,000, still acting under our General Banking Act. The number of new National Banks in the State, so far as the Commissioners have information, is twenty-five, with a capital of about \$4,000,000.

In my annual address of 1863, (next following that Report of the Secretary of the Treasury in which he recommended the creation of a National System of banking,) I did not hesitate to place the Executive Department of Massachusetts in prompt support of the main design of the Federal Government to nationalize the paper currency used by the people, and to secure to the nation itself, in its time of need, the powerful material support of the vast aggregate of

capital represented by monetary institutions. Notwithstanding the existence of a system of banking in Massachusetts, which justly commanded the public confidence, and notwithstanding the splendid revenue derived from it to our Treasury, (which I originally suggested Massachusetts would have to abandon,) the Legislature, in that spirit of devoted and larger-minded patriotism which has always characterized its National policy, provided at once express legislation to enable any of our existing banks to re-organize as banking associations under the Act of Congress. The statistics I have just read, exhibit the contribution we have made toward inaugurating the Federal system. I find by the report of the Comptroller of the Currency, (under date of Nov. 25, 1864,) that the aggregate capital stock paid in, of all the National Banking Associations then organized, was \$108,964,597.28, and that of this sum those of Massachusetts had \$25,909,040.00, so that the paid-in capital of the National Banking Associations organized in Massachusetts, is nearly one-quarter part of the aggregate.

The constitutional right of the several States to create banks of issue, was long since authoritatively affirmed by the Supreme Court of the Union.* I do

* *Briscoe vs. The Bank of Kentucky*.—11 *Peters*, 257.

Darrington vs. The Bank of Alabama.—13 *Howard*, 12.

not understand that the constitutional right is now questioned. But should Congress deem it wise to impose taxes largely discriminating against the State banks, and in favor of the National associations, the right to create such banks may cease to be exercised. But Congress has not yet deemed such emphatic discrimination expedient. Meanwhile, I am bound to suggest to the General Court the inquiry, whether it becomes the Commonwealth, by its own legislation, practically to discriminate against its own banks, and precipitate them all into National associations. The National system is confessedly incomplete.* It is new

* "Some important amendments are required to the Act, in order that it should be fully accommodated to the wants and business of the country.

"The provisions in regard to the lawful money reserve and the distribution of the assets of insolvent banks require modification.

"I am still of the opinion that the rates of interest to be charged by the national banks should be fixed by Congress, and not by the States.

"There are too many points at which the banks may redeem their notes. All, with the exception of those in Philadelphia and Boston, should redeem in New York. The banks ought to be compelled by law to retain a part, if not all the coin received by them, for interest on their gold-bearing bonds, in order that they may be prepared to lend their influence in favor of a return to specie payments; and some provisions should be introduced by which, when specie payments are resumed, excessive importation of goods may be checked, and dangerous exportations of coin may be prevented.

"It is of the greatest importance that the national currency system should be independent of politics and freed from political influences. To effect this, and to facilitate the business of the banks with the Comptroller, I am clearly of the opinion that the bureau should be made an independent department, and removed from Washington to Philadelphia or New York.

"I do not, however, recommend that any amendments be made by the present Congress. The Act will do well enough as it is for another year. When the next Congress assembles, the defects in it will be better understood, by the practical working of the system, than they can be at the present time. The Act can then be taken up and, with the light which the experience of another year has thrown upon it, judiciously amended."—*Report of Comptroller of Currency, November 25, 1864.*

and on trial. If there is any burden in the experiment, Massachusetts has taken her share in it. She began at the beginning with alacrity, and she bears it with cheerfulness. Having made more than her full contribution toward initiating this National measure, might it not be wiser so to adapt our own legislation, that the remaining State institutions will be left subject to the operation of the laws of Congress, and of political economy, by which they will be affected equally with the banks and capitalists of the other Commonwealths? To this end, I recommend a repeal of the special tax on banking capital, and that the rate of interest payable on temporary loans required of them to the Commonwealth, be raised to six per cent. at the discretion of the Executive Department. Our banks will then remain under their charters, or re-organize under the Act of Congress, according as their own intelligent judgment of the interests of their stockholders, in view of present and future legislation, shall lead them to determine. The Comptroller of the Currency thinks the time has passed of any uncertainty in regard to the success of the National Banking System or the popular verdict upon it. He thinks the time has arrived when all the State institutions should be compelled by taxation to retire their circulation. If Congress shall thus determine, those of

our banks desiring to issue paper money, alike with those of other States, will be under the necessity of changing their organization. Until Congress shall thus determine, ought they not to remain as free as are the banks of other States?

Harbors and Flats.

To the Commissioners on Harbors and Flats, a temporary body created by a Resolve of the General Court in 1862, was assigned the duty of making a report on the Flats in Boston Harbor, which duty was ably performed. From that report, and from those of the United States Commissioners on Boston Harbor, made to the city of Boston and to the State Commissioners, the following conclusions may be drawn :

1. That by building a sea-wall from Forepoint Channel to Castle Island, so as to inclose the South Boston Flats, in a line laid down by the United States' Commissioners, and filling up the flats inclosed, a great addition will be made to the property of the Commonwealth, which is much the largest owner of the flats, as well as to that of the owners of the flats adjoining the shore.

2. That this great work will not in the least degree injure the harbor, provided suitable compensation be

made for the diminution of its tidal reservoirs, by deepening flats in other places, and by other measures for a similar object.

3. The work proposed, with compensation as above indicated, is likely, indeed, to improve the harbor so much, by narrowing the spread of the water and deepening the main channel, that it ought to be undertaken for that single object, even if it brought no pecuniary benefit to the State.

The time seems to have arrived when the State may safely decide to make the proposed improvement, sure, if properly done, to advance the commercial prosperity of the capital by a new frontage of deep water, with docks to accommodate navigation, and to promote the direct pecuniary interests of the Commonwealth by *giving value to about twenty-five million feet of flats, which are now worthless.*

In my opinion, the erection of the sea-wall, and the filling up of the flats belonging to the Commonwealth, ought to be executed by the State, and not by private individuals or corporations. It ought to be done by a power whose first object should be to protect and improve the harbor, and next, but in entire subservience to the first, to promote the pecuniary interests of the Commonwealth. No individual or corporation whose object is to make money, ought to

be intrusted with such an operation. It should be under the care of a permanent Board of State Commissioners,* whose first duty should be to protect the harbor, and benefit the State, with no pecuniary bias to swerve them.

No estimates have yet been made of the cost of the sea-wall, which have any pretensions to accuracy. Sixty dollars for each foot of front has been named. Neither has any definite plan of compensation for the tidal reservoir to be diminished, been yet proposed. Although, therefore, the completion of this work is of urgent necessity, I can only recommend at the present session, that the Legislature authorize obtaining estimates of the damages, and of the expense of building a sea-wall and filling the flats. Under the

* "It has always been the wish of the Commission, which it has urged in the form of a recommendation upon every State or City Government by which it has been employed, that the care of the harbors under consideration should be assigned to some suitable and responsible persons, whose duty it should be to 'resist encroachments, to arrest the abuse of privileges, to keep the Government advised of the progress of improvements, and of the adherence of projectors to the plans which have received official approval.' Unless 'there is some controlling, supervisory power, with authority to direct constructions in all the tidal harbors of the State,' —and unless there be some office of record, where all maps and reports relating to these harbors are preserved, from time to time examined, and always understood, —very little of the good they might otherwise do, will be accomplished. It is therefore with sincere satisfaction, that we have seen the appointment of the State Commission on Harbors and Flats; and it is our earnest hope that this Commission will constitute a permanent body."—*Extract from Report of U. S. Harbor Commissioners, viz.: Brig. Gen. Totten, Prof. Bache, and Admiral Davis. (See City of Boston Doc. No. 33, 1864.)*

same authority the Commissioners should obtain a specific plan of compensation for the tidal reservoir. The United States' Commission* have, it is understood, prepared with the utmost pains such a plan, which will be ready for examination during the present winter.

In executing the plans the State Commissioners should have authority to purchase or take any flats belonging to individuals, necessary to their work. This would probably be needful only at the ends where the wall crosses the flats of individuals, near the shore. Within the inclosed area there may be claims of individuals to damages for injury to water rights. These the Commissioners should have the power to adjust, either by buying the property, or giving compensation in flats filled up, or leaving the damages to adjudication. They should have authority, also, to lay out streets over the inclosed area.

The General Government is taking measures to protect the islands in the outer harbor, by repairing dilapidated sea-walls and erecting additional ones. Additional appropriations have been called for from

* Consisting (since the death of Gen'l Totten) of Professor Bache, Superintendent of the Coast Survey, Rear-Admiral Davis, of the Navy, and Brig. Gen'l Delafield, Chief of the Corps of Engineers, of the Army.

Congress, at its present session. But the Board of Commissioners which I have suggested, ought to have power to expend money for the protection of these islands, if the General Government shall neglect it.

The Defences of our Coast.

During the past year much has been done for the defence of our sea-coast, in the directions which experience had indicated as practicable; but no new project for adding to its defences has been attempted or devised. The earthworks planned and executed by the Federal Government to protect the harbors of Newburyport, Salem, Marblehead, Gloucester, Plymouth, and Provincetown, have been completed, armed, and garrisoned; while steady progress has been made under the supervision of the United States' engineer officers in charge, on the permanent works at Boston and New Bedford. Some very heavy ordnance has been placed in position in the Boston forts, and although the harbor of our capital is by no means so completely protected as we could wish, yet its defences are much in advance of their condition a year ago. It is understood that in some positions additional works are proposed by the United States. The usual cession of jurisdiction will probably be desired in these

cases, and Acts granting it will no doubt be promptly passed by the Legislature.

There remain \$645,653.89 to the credit of the appropriation placed at the disposal of the Governor and Council by the Act of March 30th, 1863. The amount spent (\$354,346.11) has been applied to the purchase of heavy ordnance, at home and abroad, and to minor expenses for coast defence, including the cost of connecting Forts Independence and Warren with the city of Boston by electric telegraph, the cost of the plans for harbor obstructions against naval attack, and the cost of a piece of land adjacent to the State arsenal at Cambridge, which was necessary for the storage of the increased supply of arms and munitions of war.

Under the Resolve of May 12, 1864, for reimbursing to cities and towns their expenses incurred in coast defences, claims have been presented by the city of New Bedford for \$19,442.24; by the city of Salem for \$4,646.93, of which \$2,745.83 was spent in the construction of Fort Pickering, and \$1,901.10 in that of Fort Lee; and by the town of Marblehead for \$2,217.65 spent upon Fort Sewall. The claim of the city of Salem has been paid; the others have not yet been presented in form to admit of being audited.

At the end now of an official experience of four years in connection with the defences of our coast,

I am more than ever impressed with the deficiency in our means of obtaining a sufficient supply of heavy ordnance, and with the conviction that the most efficient manner in which any State can contribute to our defences, is by helping to remove that deficiency. And in this connection I beg to refer; without repeating them here, to the views I had the honor to express to the last General Court.

Immediately after the passage of the Act of March 30, the opinions of many officers of the Federal Government experienced in engineering and ordnance, were sought and obtained as to the objects to which our money could be best applied.* The opinions of all these officers, and of the others who were asked for advice, were not expressed officially, but with informal frankness which extra-official inter-

* Among others who were consulted, were the late eminent Chief of the Corps of Engineers, General Totten, who, after a career of nearly sixty years in our military service, has since died at an age ripe according to the usual measure of human life, but at which his vigor and enthusiasm in his country's cause were those of the prime of youth; and also the present accomplished chief of that corps, General Delafield, then in charge of the defences of the harbor of New York; also the then Chief of the Ordnance Bureau of the War Department, General Ripley, himself a citizen of Massachusetts, whose military record holds so honorable a place in our national history; and the Quartermaster-General of the Army, General Meigs, not less distinguished for his skill as an engineer than for his great administrative talent in his present charge. Among the naval officers consulted were Admiral Dahlgren and Captain Wise, the former eminent for his inventions and improvements in ordnance, then Chief of the Naval Ordnance Bureau, now commander of the South Atlantic Blockading Squadron, and the latter his successor in charge of that Bureau.

course justified. Hence it would not be proper to cite them here; and I mention the fact that they were obtained, only as evidence of the care with which it was sought to make judicious application of the funds of the State. The various opinions thus received, when combined and compared, reduced themselves to the suggestion of three objects as desirable for the application of these funds: 1. The construction of a floating steam ram, whose central station should be Boston Harbor. 2. The maturing of plans for harbor obstructions, so that at the moment of danger there might not be conflict of council as to the plan to be adopted; and 3. The procuring of approved heavy ordnance for our forts, from whatever sources it should be obtainable, in addition to those employed by the United States. The first object seemed clearly within the especial province of the Navy Department, the officers of which Department moreover expressed an earnest hope that the State would not enter into competition with the General Government by undertaking the construction of such a vessel; so that with the highest respect for those by whom this project was suggested, it was never seriously entertained by us. There was no conflict of opinion concerning the second object, as harbor obstructions to delay an attacking fleet within range of the forts had always

formed an integral part of the plan of coast defences, from the days when this system of defences for the coast of the United States was first devised, and had been only rendered more necessary by the introduction of steam and iron-armature in the navies of all maritime powers. As to the third object, it was clear that that was not only of paramount importance, but an essential part of both the others, as neither rams nor harbor obstructions would avail, without guns to protect the one and arm the other. But how this third object should be effected was not so clear.

The Ordnance Bureau of the War Department expressed its readiness and desire to absorb the whole product of all the foundries in the country capable of casting heavy guns; and declared that any effort of the State to procure guns from these foundries could only increase the cost, by competition, without adding to the number produced. In view of that fact, three courses were proposed as practical for the expenditure of our money:—first, in constructing a new gun foundry; second, in rifling and reinforcing with wrought-iron or steel rings and jackets a number of the old 32-pounders and 42-pounders which the United States has on hand; and third, in purchasing heavy ordnance in foreign countries and importing it here.

The erection of a gun foundry by the State, while unadvisable in other respects, could not be expected to yield any result for the space of at least two years. The reinforcing the old 32- and 42-pounders, though undoubtedly a valuable expedient in an emergency, would, at best, have given us imperfect guns, not certainly capable of seriously damaging an iron-clad fleet.

All the memoranda, official and unofficial, in which these various discussions and suggestions were contained, were by me referred to an informal commission of gentlemen who represented, in an eminent degree, the various business and professional interests of our community. These gentlemen, at my request, made a thorough examination of the subject and embodied their advice to me thereupon in a report which confirmed the opinions I had myself less deliberately formed as to the directions in which we should strive to apply our money; and I at once intrusted to two further informal commissions the charge of carrying this advice into effect. To the gentlemen constituting them I desire to make public acknowledgment of their disinterested and valuable service.

Under the direction of the first, consisting of His Honor the Mayor of Boston, and of Captain William T. Glidden and Professor E. W. Horsford, a plan for

harbor obstructions was devised, and working drawings, calculations, specifications and bills of materials, in accordance with this plan, having been completed by the chief engineer on my staff, Brig. Gen. W. R. Lee, are deposited in the State Ordnance Bureau.

The second, consisting of His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor, and John M. Forbes, Esq., and Colonel Harrison Ritchie, has had superintendence of the procuring of heavy ordnance. There have been obtained through the agency of this commission, at home and abroad, 72 guns of large calibre, 2,390 projectiles, and 25,000 pounds of cannon powder. A detailed statement of the purchases made under its direction, with the approval of the Governor and Council, and of all the expenses incurred under this appropriation, has been submitted by the Commission, and will be laid before your committee ; but there are reasons which render it inexpedient to give publicity to this report, at the present moment.

There has been spent abroad, for these purchases, including all incidental expenses, £40,865, costing \$263,273.27; and at home, \$69,791.87. By the gain on exchange on funds remitted to England which the Commission thought it inexpedient to use, the cost of the pound sterling was reduced to \$6.44, being much less than could have been anticipated. The only

remaining liabilities on account of foreign ordnance will be the freight and shipping charges on certain guns paid for and delivered, which are expected to arrive very shortly.

During the present exaggerated rates of exchange, and with our past experience of the difficulties of obtaining guns abroad, difficulties arising from the deficiency even there of material and machinery, as well as the competition of continental powers, no further purchases abroad are contemplated, and there therefore remains to the credit of the fund under the Act of March 30th, 1863, an unexpended balance of \$645,653.89. Designs for the carriages for these guns have been prepared, with complete specifications, and these should be at once procured. Some smaller matters also remain to be provided for, including the claims of New Bedford and Marblehead for money spent on earth-works. There should also be at the command of the Executive a sum sufficient to enable him, in case of emergency, to carry out the plans for obstructing our chief harbors; but beyond this it is not thought that any further sums could be at present spent with advantage upon the defences of our coast.

It is clear; it is beyond the pale of dispute; that what is needed is a great National Foundry, to be built

and conducted at national expense.* I had the honor as long ago as 1861, in company with Colonel Amory, then Master of Ordnance of this State, to appear before the appropriate committee of Congress, to urge legislation for the construction of such a foundry. It has been urged on Congress by the present Secretary of War, as a national duty. And I am ashamed to believe that the chief obstacles in the way of such legislation are local jealousies as to the place to build it. If foreign war shall come,—which Heaven avert!

* Obviously no money, unless for special reason, should be devoted to building new fortifications, however much needed, for we have not heavy guns enough in the country to arm properly the forts already built. We come back to the point that what is most needed for coast defence, is additional means for making heavy guns at home, and for that purpose two objects must be accomplished: first, the building of new gun foundries, and second, the building of additional furnaces in the mining districts, to produce more gun-metal. The second object will accomplish itself, as soon as the first shall be achieved. Once erect the foundries and set them at work, and the building of new furnaces will keep pace as a matter of course with the increased demand for metal. But experience has proved that it is vain to look for the construction by private capitalists of such additional foundries as are needed. Such enterprises are of too great magnitude for private endeavor, without some guarantee by the Government to those who should embark in them, of long-continued orders for Government work sufficient to justify the investment and risk of so much capital, because the Government would be the sole domestic customer. In the present transition period of ordnance, when diametrically opposite theories of the proper construction of forts and guns and ships of war, are maintained with equal persistency by officers of equal distinction and experience, it is impossible for private capitalists to look for such guarantees; and hence, after four years of such strife as the world has rarely seen, during every year of which there have been occasions when foreign wars seemed imminent, there has not been built in the whole country one single additional foundry of any consequence, capable of casting heavy guns. The most that has been done, has been to enlarge somewhat foundries already built and engaged in that business.

—and foreign fleets assail successfully our sea-ports, I envy not the consciousness of those who shall then be aware that but for their petty spirit such national calamity and humiliation might have been averted.

Provincetown.

I had the honor to call attention, in the Annual Address of 1862, to the great importance of the harbor of Provincetown, and to the importance of the appropriate defence of that port. These views received due consideration by the Department of War. General Totten, at that time the distinguished head of the Engineer Bureau, under date of March 8, 1862, replied to the inquiries of the Military Committee of the House of Representatives of the United States, that "Provincetown should always be regarded as of the first importance and merit; while, as regards its fortifications, there is now no point of our coast where defences are not yet undertaken, that ought, in this respect, to precede it;" adding, also, that "the time for commencing permanent defences has fully arrived for this harbor, as an element of our sea-coast defences." The harbor of Provincetown is one where whole navies may ride at safe anchorage; one certain to be sought after as a haven by hostile fleets, whence they would menace our towns, and harass our com-

merce, as did the British navy during our last war with England.

In the address alluded to, I mentioned the great importance of the construction of a railroad to connect this remote and important port speedily and certainly with the capital and central portions of the State; and I endeavored to show how, without such means provided for reinforcing the garrison, any fortifications erected there might prove to be means of danger rather than of defence, by the advantages they would offer to an enemy, should they fall into his hands,—which might easily occur without means of such reinforcement, since vessels of war may approach the shore at Billingsgate Point in twenty-five feet of water, and land a hostile force at Eastham or Wellfleet, within a few hours' easy march of Provincetown.

Under the charter which was granted by a former legislature, the Cape Cod Central Railroad has been commenced, through the towns of Yarmouth, Dennis, Harwich and Brewster, to Orleans, a distance of eighteen miles. The work upon this road is now in rapid progress, and on all the sections along the route a considerable part of it has been completed by the contractor. This very important road will thus be carried by private enterprise, over nearly one-

half the distance necessary to connect the harbor and fortifications of Provincetown by rail with the military posts at this city, and to place them within two or three hours of New Bedford and Newport, from which troops and supplies of every sort could be expeditiously and safely forwarded. It is now affirmed that no more can be done at present by private means, and I would respectfully suggest for consideration by the General Court, the adoption of measures by the Commonwealth, as a part of its system of coast defences, to promote the immediate extension of the road to the extremity of the Cape.

Troy and Greenfield Railroad and Hoosac Tunnel.

I have the honor to lay before the General Court a copy of the Report of the Commissioners upon the Troy and Greenfield Railroad and Hoosac Tunnel, setting forth the proceedings of the Commissioners, the methods and agencies adopted by them, and the expenditures made in the execution of their duties under Chapter 214 of the Acts of 1863, which prescribes to the Executive Department and to the Commissioners their respective duties and powers in relation to this enterprise. It is accompanied by a copy of a Report rendered to the Commissioners by their Chief Engineer, concerning the progress made

upon the Tunnel since its construction was undertaken under the immediate auspices of the Commonwealth, by resuming work upon it in October, 1863, and concerning its present condition. The expenditure involved by their operations, up to the close of the account indicated in the Report of the Commissioners on the 15th of November last, was \$486,943.26. The estimated payments for November and December were about \$50,000 per month. And for the year 1865, the estimated expense of prosecuting the work upon the Tunnel will be from \$25,000 to \$35,000 per month, depending upon the price of labor and materials. A considerable proportion of the expense thus far incurred, has been incidental to the business of preparing the buildings, machinery and fixtures important for use in the vigorous and successful prosecution to its ultimate and earliest practicable completion, of the great scheme of piercing the Hoosac Mountain by a railway tunnel. The present method is one which does not encourage those having the work in charge to attempt the exhibition of apparent but unreal progress, or the study of exhibitions for effect. And I am confident that everything which has been done by the Commissioners and their Engineer, has been done in the exercise of their deliberate professional judgment, having in view the

single purpose of making the best and surest progress in the long run.

The construction of the road lying east of the mountain, of which the eastern terminus is in Greenfield, is not yet resumed. The questions of title springing from what is called the "Smith mortgage," for the determination of which proceedings were instituted by the Attorney-General of the Commonwealth, have not yet received judicial solution. I am advised that their adjudication may be properly expected during the term of the Supreme Judicial Court now in progress. Should their decision be found in favor of the Commonwealth, it is confidently believed that the possession under the mortgages made by the Troy and Greenfield Railroad Company to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, at present clouded by the "Smith mortgage," will then be clear and exclusive. Without additional legislation, or a judicial determination setting aside that mortgage as any possible incumbrance upon the title of the Commonwealth, I have not believed it competent for the Governor and Council to approve the renewal by the Commissioners of operations upon the last named portion of the Tunnel line.

In view of the probability that the resumption of this part of the work will soon become practicable,

I deem it proper to invite the General Court to consider a question of possibly doubtful interpretation of the 1st Section of the 214th Chapter of the Acts of 1863, under which all proceedings must now be had. It is in these words :

“The commissioners appointed under the one hundred and fifty-sixth chapter of the acts of eighteen hundred and sixty-two, are hereby authorized, subject to the advice and approval of the governor and council, to construct, complete and equip the Troy and Greenfield Railroad and Hoosac Tunnel; *and to make such alterations in the line of said road as may be deemed necessary*, to render it suitable and proper for part of a through line from Troy to Boston; also such alterations in the location and dimensions of said tunnel as will render it suitable and proper for use, in accordance with the spirit and intent of the two hundred and twenty-sixth chapter of the acts of eighteen hundred and fifty-four.”

It has been suggested that the powers and duties of the Governor and Council under this Section, require them to consider all the various questions which concern the general route of the road, from its junction with the Vermont and Massachusetts Railroad to its other terminus, with the details of its location, in the same manner as if they constituted a Board of Directors of a Railway Company, and then to direct the Commissioners accordingly, as if they were the Engineers of the Company. Such, however, is not my own construction. I hold that the authority to con-

struct, complete and equip, to make alterations in the line of the road, and in the location and dimensions of the Tunnel, is directly imparted by that Section to the Commissioners; that "the line of said road" intended and alluded to, was the line as it was understood to have been already established when this Act was passed, and that in the proceedings for the execution of the work, the initiative lies with the Commissioners, and not with the Governor and Council. No authority to construct the road, or to do the other things enumerated, is given to the Governor and Council, nor authority to direct the Commissioners to do them. But the authority appears to be granted to the Commissioners, limited however by being made in its execution "subject to the advice and approval of the Governor and Council." This construction is inferred to be that intended by the Legislature, from other portions of the text of the same chapter, as for example, (in Section 4,) "*Said Commissioners in altering the location of the line of said road* shall have the same power as railroad corporations have in making locations under existing laws."

I understand the Act to mean that the Commissioners are authorized to proceed to the execution of the enterprise of constructing the Tunnel and the Road, liable however to restraint by the Governor and

Council, to whose advice and consent they are subject. So also, I understand that the Commissioners may alter the line of the road, being liable however to restraint by the Governor and Council, if they should not approve a proposed alteration.

Either the Governor and Council, or else the Commissioners, must be charged with the permanent responsibility of taking the initiative in the plan and method of the work. To divide this duty between them, or to leave it in the alternative, would, I fear, consign the enterprise to all the hazards of feebleness, uncertainty and anarchy in the councils of its administration. If the interpretation which I have indicated, is not that intended by the Legislature, I trust that the General Court at its present session will take pains to declare the contrary in explicit terms. The people of the Commonwealth will then perceive the importance in choosing the Governor and Councillors, of making their selection with due reference to the specific and peculiar duties thus imposed upon those officers.

Institutions of Public Charity and Correction.

I shall forbear allusion in detail, to the Institutions of Public Charity or Correction, under the care of the Commonwealth. They have received the usual

visits of inspection during the year by the Governor and Council. The Board of State Charities, organized in the autumn of 1863, pursuant to the legislation of that year, is expected to present, early in the session, an elaborate historical and statistical account and description, which I desire not to anticipate. On former occasions similar to the present, I have had the honor to advocate measures for a more careful and systematic survey of this branch of the civil service. Both observation and reflection conduced to the opinion, that the workings of these institutions, the principles which control them, their experience and progress, might all be far better understood, their mistakes, if any, more easily perceived and remedied, their successes and advantages more completely appreciated. What apparently remained was to begin to study the whole subject in the light of all our experiments, and persistently to continue both the positive and comparative examination of these institutions, with the intent to learn what are the facts and statistics of crime, disease, pauperism, imbecility, or other infirmity, whether of mind or body; to learn also the facts which illustrate the history of their treatment, and the merits and the limitations of the agencies devoted to them—their economies, their humanity, their intelligence, and their progress. In that way might we

hope to give coherence and system to the institutions themselves, to render the experience of each advantageous to all, and to accumulate in time facts sufficiently numerous to form a basis for safe reasoning, not alone for the guidance of the Legislature in its annual deliberations, but aiding also the philosophers of social science and public economy in their generalizations, and thus incidentally contributing to the common stock of human knowledge.

I entertain the hope that, by a series of careful, dispassionate and well-methodized reports, devoted to the arrangement and presentation of the past and current history and statistics to which I have alluded, sought after with a single eye to the discovery of truth, and promulgated in its interest without prejudice of theories or pre-occupation, the Board of Charities will commend itself to the people, and will fully justify the design in which it originated. I am quite far from believing that a single report, however complete or elaborate, ought to be conclusive. I am quite aware that, misconstrued by partiality or preconception, there is nothing more delusive than the figures of arithmetic, scarcely anything so likely to mislead, as facts incontrovertibly true. The fault, however, lies not in the figures, nor in the facts. The error flows from that hasty and impatient temper of the intellect, which so

often hurries the mind to a verdict before all the witnesses have been heard, and from a certain narrowness and bigotry of the understanding, which allow its whole field of vision to be usurped by an imperfect or partial array of incidents and circumstances. While I cannot doubt that the process of time will, after the methods I have ventured to recommend, evolve substantial improvement, both in our theories and in our measures, I do not the less freely confess, that the truest and surest reform is that which, imitating the patience of nature, and of Providence, is content to "make haste slowly."

In this connection it is due to my respect for the merits of those officers, to say, that my official relation of four consecutive years with the institutions of which I have spoken, convinces me that at the present moment they are administered and governed with a fidelity and intelligence not to be surpassed in any department of the public service. Without believing that our system and methods are yet perfect, I believe that the staff attached to the penal, correctional and charitable institutions of Massachusetts, merits your confidence and encouragement, and that it compares favorably with any similar body of officers in the world.

My attention was early attracted to the presence of certain sanitary evils, which appeared incidental to those establishments where considerable numbers of paupers, including many victims of disease, sometimes flagrant and sometimes only incipient, are congregated. These evils it has been attempted to diminish, by calling in the aid of professional experience and skill, as vacancies have occurred in the various Boards of Trustees and Inspectors. At present, there is not one of these boards which does not contain a member fitted by his studies and pursuits to be an intelligent inspector of the medical and surgical department of the prison, hospital, or almshouse to which it pertains. And in addition thereto, I am indebted to the courtesy and public spirit of three gentlemen of the medical profession, especially fitted by their training and practice for that work, who have visited, at my request, certain of these establishments, with a view to their advice touching details by which my own mind had been perplexed.

I desire to make particular allusion to the danger and inhumanity attendant on the enforced removal of sick persons from the towns where they happen to be, to the State Almshouses, involving, oftentimes, needless suffering to the individual and, in the case of contagious diseases, criminal hazard to the public

health. I observe, also, palpable defects in the provision made for the care of the sick at the Almshouses, while at the same time numerous sick persons are sent to them. Persons who need public assistance, not because they belong to any permanently pauper class, but only because they are sick, ought, I think, if possible, to be cured in the towns where they are. The accident of temporary illness happening to industrious and honest poverty, sometimes makes a temporary pauper. Unless such persons can be conveyed to a proper hospital, as for example, Rainsford Island, the City Hospital in Boston, or the like, for curative treatment, I submit they should be cured in the towns where are their homes. Why should their recovery be perilled by needless transportation to a remote State Almshouse—perhaps scattering contagion as they go, and helping to increase the tendency to infection, always sufficiently great, in such an establishment—there to be treated, where the hospital is only an incident to the main design of the place, and where their presence tends only to diminish the room, while it contaminates the air?

The institution of the State Almshouses originated in the occasion found to exist, to provide for a class of vagrant paupers, for whose disposition previous laws were thought defective. The existing Alms-

houses ought to be enough to include all of this class for many years to come. The sound policy of the Commonwealth must be not to increase State pauperism. Instead of breaking up families, it is for their own good, and for the public interest in all cases where they have a permanent residence, and especially where they are disposed to be industrious, that they should enjoy such relief for the time being, at or near their homes, as their necessities require. Such relief judiciously administered, bridges over a momentary distress, while under the influence of the other treatment the subject often lapses, (particularly in the case of children,) into permanent pauperism. And while the Commonwealth is thus called upon unwisely to increase her Almshouses, those of the towns are left largely unoccupied.

The last census shows that of the 1,231,066 inhabitants of the Commonwealth, 425,519 were born in other States or countries. This fact indicates a large and ever increasing class of persons who will never, under our present laws, acquire settlements in any city or town, but be left, in any emergency of poverty, to relief by the Commonwealth alone. And yet very large numbers of those, wanting only the technical or arbitrary conditions of settlement, are really permanent residents and citizens of the places

where they abide, have contributed to their growth, prosperity, and wealth, by their taxes and their industry, are sometimes citizens by nativity, and have inherited settlements even within the *equity* of existing laws.

I am aware that changes in our settlement laws are deemed objectionable. Indeed our present law of pauper settlement, chap. 69 of the General Statutes, enacted in 1859, is identical with the Act of 1793, chap. 34, varied by one slight amendment in chap. 94 of the Acts of 1821.* Those laws have encountered the criticism of the bar, received the interpretation of the bench, and are pretty well understood by professional experts. Yet, in view of the considerations alluded to, I must venture to commend to your attention the following, selected from those proposed amendments which have been suggested by thoughtful and experienced persons :

* One curious to explore the earlier legislation, will find it in a book of sixty-four pages by the late Judge Leavitt, of which the following is the title page :—

"A Summary of the Laws of Massachusetts, relative to the Settlement, Support, Employment, and Removal of Paupers. By Jonathan Leavitt, Esq., Counsellor at Law."

"We find within our breasts the active principles of humanity, social affection and generous sympathy. Out of this reflection springs a sweet reward for all the labors of benevolence.—*Belisarius*."

"*Juris præcepta sunt hæc : honeste vivere, alterum non laedere, suum cuique tribuere.—Justinian.*

"The poor shall never cease out of the land ; therefore I command thee, saying, thou shalt open thine hand *wide* unto thy brother, to thy poor, and to thy needy in thy land.—*Deut. XV. II.*"

1. That any person having a clearly established maternal settlement shall be allowed its privileges, without being obliged to prove the want of any paternal settlement. Such proof is almost an impossibility, unless the father was an alien. It is required to prove a negative, and that proof must extend back in many cases through two hundred years. It would seem that simple justice should require the town of maternal settlement to relieve the pauper, till that town can find a paternal settlement for him. This simple change to what was once the law, would relieve a very worthy class of citizens, by no means inconsiderable in numbers. It would also prevent the separation of families.

2. That the minor children of a widow re-marrying, should share the settlement thereby acquired by her through the step-father, in cases where they inherit none through either parent.

3. That aliens, having fulfilled all the conditions of settlement except the oath of naturalization, should enjoy the same privileges in this regard as the native born. The right of settlement appears to have originated in the idea that a man, having by his usefulness or his industry conferred a certain amount of benefit on a community, should be entitled for himself, his wife and his posterity, to certain peculiar rights and

privileges, in case of any disability. I fail to see why any man, who has borne his share of public burdens, should be deprived of the rights that accompany them, simply because he has omitted an act, which family reasons might not permit, or from which he was deterred by an instinctive affection for the land of his birth and his memories. And still more do I fail to see why the innocent children, born perhaps on our soil, and reared with our own, should be made to suffer for the omission of their father. The removal of this disability would sweep away at a stroke many of our troubles. The permanent alien population would secure settlements, which would stimulate to the cheerful payment of taxes, by the benefits it holds out to them.

4. That all soldiers who have served for three years during this rebellion, and been honorably discharged, or who have been killed, wounded or otherwise disabled in the service, shall secure thereby a lawful settlement in the towns to the quotas of which they have been severally credited. Surely no argument is needed here; for what can be harsher than to refuse the poor choice of the place where their families shall become paupers, to the men who have hazarded or yielded up their lives to defend the rights,

liberties and fortunes of those who have remained at home ?

5. Intentionally omitting the assessment of taxes, (which omission sometimes throws upon the State many a worthy person, with his posterity for several generations,) should not affect his settlement. It is for the public good that all persons should pay their reasonable taxes. The wilful omission to assess taxes lest their payment should fix the payor's settlement in a given town, while it simply changes the possible burden of his support from the town to the State, deprives the public treasury of a contribution, helps to degrade and demoralize a citizen, while it in no sense lightens the real burden of his support.

6. I ought to add that it seems to myself personally, only just and reasonable that the fact of constant residence by any person for a certain number of years in a particular place (not becoming during that time a recipient of public charity) ought to gain for such person a settlement, so as to entitle him to pauper relief. So also that a child born of parents having their home in any given place, should gain a settlement by the fact of his birth. If any reasons exist why such rules would bear inequitably on the towns, their operation could be modified by requiring of the

Commonwealth to share the expense incident to such cases.

No share of the pauper expenditure which any equitable policy would cast on the Treasury of the Commonwealth is intended by these remarks to be avoided. It is as easy for the people to pay taxes into one treasury as into another. I speak in behalf of interests in the main common to all, desiring only that the rights and welfare of the people, which ought always to be brought to the test of principles, may not be subordinated to merely local or temporary expediency.

Hospitals for Invalided Soldiers.

In response to an application to the Secretary of War, through the Medical Director of the United States Army, Department of the East, a commodious United States Army General Hospital at Worcester, on the site recommended by the State, is now in process of erection; which on its completion will be one of the best constructed in the country, accommodating one thousand patients. Another United States General Hospital is nearly completed at Readville; and ample facilities are thus afforded to our sick and wounded.

An informal recommendation was made to the Sur-

geon-General of the United States Army,* for the transfer of sick and wounded Massachusetts soldiers, permanently disabled, from those Departments most remote from the State; but no formal application has been made for individual transfers, except in urgent cases, and on due consideration, as such action tends to derange the plans of the proper medical authorities, who are the best judges of the soldiers' condition and of other circumstances over which the State has no control.

I refer you to the report of the Surgeon-General of this State for other information connected with this subject, and such other matters as are incidental to his Department. The full and thorough reports of our several Military Agents are also appended to his report. I have, from time to time, made such details of Special Agents to visit and examine into the condition of our troops, as circumstances have required, and their reports are on file.

The delays and difficulties experienced by returned soldiers, invalids, widows and children, in obtaining from the General Government the moneys due them

* I gladly avail myself of this occasion to express my thanks to the Medical Director of the Department of the East, and the Directors of other Military Departments, for their prompt and courteous response to all applications of inquiry, and to express my confidence in the efficiency of the Medical Corps of the Army, under the energetic and humane administration of the present distinguished head of the Bureau at Washington.

by law, are so great that inquiry should be made whether it is not possible in some way to aid and expedite these claimants. Many of them are in great need, and all of them are entitled to receive the dues earned at the sacrifice of blood, and health, and life itself, “completely and without any denial; promptly and without delay.”

Associations have been organized, whose object it is to assist this class of claimants. But, even with such aid, it is found that it requires not less than eight months to obtain the settlement of the simplest claim. Where there has been any omission of evidence, or any error in form, months more of delay are experienced, so that many of these persons, despairing of obtaining justice, dispose of their claims for trifling sums to meet their present necessities.

Some States have already provided for mitigating these evils by their own laws. Apparent injustice to such claimants operates most unfavorably upon the cause of the government in filling the ranks of the army, and I earnestly commend the subject to your attention.

Schools.

In the midst of war, Massachusetts has allowed no abatement of her efforts to extend the blessings of

education to all her youth. In proof of this the returns for the school-year 1863-4, made to the office of the Secretary of the Board of Education, furnish, among others, these gratifying statistics.

The amount raised by the cities and towns, by voluntary taxation, for the support of the *Public* Schools, (including only wages of teachers, fuel, care of fires and school-rooms,) for the school-year 1863-4, was \$1,536,314.31, against \$1,434,015.20 for the school-year 1862-3, being an increase, this last year, of \$102,299.11, and over any previous year, of \$35,813.18.

The aggregate return of expenditures on Public Schools alone, (exclusive of the cost of repairing and erecting school-houses and of school books,) is \$1,679,700.24, being an increase for the year of \$112,750.76, and over any previous year, of \$44,073.95, and being an average sum of \$6.95 for every person between five and fifteen years of age.

All the towns have raised the sum required by law as a condition of receiving a share of the income of the State School Fund, (\$1.50 per child between five and fifteen,) and 286 towns of the 333, (or all but 47 of the whole number,) have raised *twice*, or more than twice, that amount.

There was paid for *tuition* alone, in Academies and

Private Schools, \$394,071.09—an increase for the year of \$57,523.14.

The amount expended for popular education in Massachusetts, exclusive of Collegiate and Professional Schools, exceeds *three million dollars* annually.

The satisfaction which these statements naturally inspire is somewhat abated, in view of the fact that 87, or more than one-fourth of the whole number of towns, have failed to keep their public schools the full term required by law. This, however, is to be attributed, not so much to inadequate appropriations, as to the unhappy sub-division of these towns into small school districts, thereby seriously abridging the schools.

I recommend that \$3 instead of \$1.50 raised by taxation, for each scholar, be made the condition on which its distributive share of the annual income of the school fund shall be received by each town. Three dollars is less than one-half the average sum now raised by the towns, and unless the sum required by law is increased, the conditions imposed by law will fail of being an influential motive for the future. Nor should any district share in the income of the fund, which omits to keep its school open six months in each year.

Notwithstanding the draft for the army upon two of the Normal Schools,* and the fact that the enhanced cost of living has obliged some to leave, and deterred others from entering them, still the number in attendance has not fallen below the average for several years past, and the classes recently entered are unusually large.

The demand for teachers from the graduates of these Schools has greatly increased since the war began, and is much greater than can be supplied. This is owing mainly to two causes: 1. The reduction of the

* The patriotic record of the schools at Westfield and Bridgewater, to which male pupils are admitted, deserves commendation. When the war broke out, there were forty male pupils in the school at Westfield. All but twelve of this number enlisted at once as volunteers. As many as ten others of the recent graduates have also joined the army. About seventy per cent. of the males in attendance during the last four years have gone to the war. Twelve have lost their lives, either on the battle-field or by exposures on the march and in the camp.

The number of young men connected with the Bridgewater School between March, 1861, and the beginning of the present term, September, 1864, is 108, of whom thirty-five, or thirty-two per cent., have entered the army as volunteers. Thirty-eight have entered the army, of those who were members of the school before the war commenced.

Five hundred of the alumni and students of *Harvard College*, (nineteen per cent. of the whole number living,) have been engaged in the service of the country. This number includes some who are now undergraduates, and many who left college to enter the army and have never been graduated.

Of the alumni of *Amherst College*, sixty-nine have been in the service, with seventy-seven of her undergraduates—a total of one hundred and forty-six, being about nine per cent. of the whole number of those who have graduated from the college or are now connected with it.

Williams College has sent not less than two hundred of her graduates to the field, being about nine per cent. of the whole number, not including undergraduates.

number of male teachers in the Commonwealth ; and, 2. The constantly growing appreciation in the community of the superiority of teachers thoroughly trained for their work, over those who have not enjoyed the advantages of such training.

Liberality is the Economy of States.

Liberality toward all Institutions of Science and Art which develop the mind and foster civilization, is our highest interest, and must be our welcome duty. A Commonwealth which spends freely, if wisely, in unfolding its material resources by artificial improvements, by cultivating the intellectual capacities of its people, by encouraging the ingenious to experiment, the aspiring to try their wings, and the studious to divine the mysteries of knowledge, must, of necessity, be prosperous and great. In such things, to be mean is to be poor, to be generous is to become rich.

That which is only economy when applied to an *individual*, whose enterprise must be bounded by the opportunities of a single lifetime and a limited fortune, becomes narrow and short-sighted when applied to *States* having all the combined opportunities and powers of millions of people, of all their possessions, and of unlimited duration of time.

The Agricultural College.

The progress made toward establishing the College of Agriculture will be exhibited in the Annual Report of its Trustees, soon to be presented, to which I invoke the attention of the General Court. Preliminary measures have been adopted for the location of the College in the town of Amherst,—including the decision of the Trustees selecting that place, and the approval of the Governor and Council, followed by the purchase by the Trustees of a considerable quantity of eligible and fertile land, destined for the site of its buildings and operations.

Although overruled by the better judgment of the Legislature as to the views which I had the honor to present at length in the Annual Address of 1863, and although I remain more fully convinced than ever, after the reflection of two intervening years, of their substantial soundness, I have felt it to be my official duty cordially to co-operate in endeavoring to give vitality and efficient action to the college under the auspices determined by the law of its creation. Of all the places offered and possible under the charter, the place selected by the Trustees seemed justly to be preferred, having in view all the relative advantages of each.

My own idea of a college likely to be useful in the largest way to the people, most vigorous in its growth, promotive of the progress of thrifty and intelligent farming, productive of scientific and exact knowledge (which is the true basis of prosperity,) worthy of Massachusetts, and able to command the respect while it challenges the pride of her agricultural community—is one perhaps not yet to be realized. But I beg to commend the subject of Agricultural Education, and the patronage of this institution of the State, to your liberality. I should deeply regret to see an institution which bears the name of Massachusetts, and will be held to be representative of the Commonwealth, especially of the highest aspirations of her yeomanry, allowed, for want of generous support, to degenerate into a mere industrial school. There are a hundred farmers who can teach technical farming, the manipulations of the industry and economy of the field, orchard, dairy, or stable, on their own homesteads better than they can ever be taught elsewhere. So too, for the distribution or repetition of familiar knowledge, for the study of the ordinary text-books, the cultivation of science in the way of imitation and of elementary teaching, we might even very safely rely

on the academies and schools already provided. There is, however, a vision of an ideal excellence in the way of prosecuting the studies needed for the illumination of the dark places of our agricultural life, which must some day be realized. Nature spreads out before mankind a world of almost infinite possibilities. The competitions of the mechanic arts have put in requisition all the aids of known science, are constantly stimulating into life new discoveries, or crowding the adventurous thinker and inventor to invade some new domain of knowledge or ingenuity; while civilized agriculture has, during the greater part of its history, contented itself with the devastation of its fields, and with seeking for virgin soils, to be cropped in their turn to sterility. There is in our Commonwealth a very large and increasing body of intelligent farmers, who believe in a future for their favorite pursuit worthy of that art which is the fountain of all others and is the final source of wealth. But there is needed, as well for them as for those less impressed by the value of science, the inspiring lead of constantly advancing ideas. There is needed for all, for the future glory, power and happiness of our Commonwealth, the purpose to actualize, in this most practical and yet poetical and beautiful of the

domains of useful life, an ideal excellence—the conceptions of the profoundest thought.

When the Commonwealth touches such a subject, she ought to feel herself to be like the priestess, advancing to handle the sacred symbols, and on holy ground. She should remember her own dignity, the immortality always possible to States, the error of which she is the promoter hereafter, if she commits herself to error now, the boundless scope of her good influence, the millions of men on whom her influence may be made to tell through all the amplitudes of space and time. When I contemplate such a subject, the reason is content to yield to the imagination. I remember the photograph, the magnetic telegraph, the discovery of vaccination, the painless operations of surgery,—the triumphs, the miracles of genius. I seem to see, for the Earth herself and her cultivators, the coming time, when Husbandry, attended by all the ministries of science and art, shall illumine and rejuvenate her countenance, and re-create our life below.

Institute of Technology.

The Massachusetts Institute of Technology, to which the legislation of 1863 assigned one-third of the Agricultural College fund, is making satisfactory

progress. Its meetings as a Society of Art are well attended, and by affording frequent opportunities for communications and discussions relating to the practical arts and sciences, are helping to guide and stimulate their investigation.

Through its Committee of Instruction the Institute has framed a programme for its School of Industrial Science, having in view two classes of pupils, those who frequent the lectures and School of Design for such useful knowledge as they can acquire without methodical study and in hours unoccupied by business, and those who aim at a progressive and systematic training in one or more branches of applied science, the latter head comprising a full course of the study and practice required for the professions of the Mechanical, Civil and Topographical Engineer, the Builder and Architect, the Industrial Chemist and the Engineer of Mines.

It is proposed to begin some of these courses during the present winter in the rooms of the Institute on Summer Street, there to continue until the edifice on the Back Bay, especially intended for the School of Industrial Science, shall be ready for them. This building is so far advanced that it may be expected to be occupied early next winter. Looking to the importance of early carrying out the entire

plan of the School of the Institute, and of providing also for a second building to accommodate the Museum of Industrial Arts, it is satisfactory to know that the liberality already shown to the Institute by its friends continues actively regardful of its interests, and that the generous donor to whom it has heretofore been so pre-eminently indebted for assistance, has recently offered a further large contribution on conditions which will double the amount, and which are now in process of being fulfilled.

Natural History.

The Boston Society of Natural History has removed its collections to the new building on the land granted by the Commonwealth on the Back Bay, where its Museum, open to the public on stated days, attracts a large and increasing number of visitors, including many who frequent it for special and systematic study. The important additions to the Museum and library, and the zeal of its scientific meetings, since the opening of the new building in June last, give assurance of the benefits which its enlarged means of usefulness will enable it to confer on the science and education of the Commonwealth.

This Commonwealth was among the first to show its appreciation of the practical bearings of scientific inquiry, by providing for geological, botanical and zoölogical surveys. The Reports which were the fruits of these surveys have not only been widely recognized as important contributions to knowledge, but have furnished an example and an incentive to similar explorations in other parts of the United States.

The report of Mr. Emerson on the Trees of Massachusetts has been once reprinted, and that of Dr. Harris on the Insects Injurious to Vegetation has been brought out in a third edition, enriched with additions and illustrations. Belonging to the same series is the Report on the Invertebrate Animals of Massachusetts, prepared by Dr. A. A. Gould, and published by the Commonwealth in 1841. This volume, notwithstanding the unavoidable incompleteness of a first report, has been so much demanded abroad, as well as at home, that it has been for many years out of print. Its author, during the long interval since its publication, has been constantly perfecting it by his observations and collections, and has completed the work of its revision. If the Commonwealth will reprint the Report in its

improved form, requiring a sum not exceeding \$4,000, he will freely contribute the labor of superintending the publication, as well as that already devoted to its preparation. Considering its value as a further contribution to our knowledge of the natural history and resources of Massachusetts, and as a useful fund for exchanges with other States and countries which contribute to the State Library; and bearing in mind that these results of more than twenty years of investigation, which are so liberally offered to the Commonwealth, are the work of an eminent naturalist specially devoting himself to this object, and which, if lost, could not be replaced, I have no hesitation in recommending that this moderate provision be made.

Museum of Zoölogy.

The collections in every department of natural history are increasing so fast at the Museum of Comparative Zoölogy in Cambridge, that an extension of the building has become a necessity. Notwithstanding all obstacles, however, the large amount of duplicates lately made available for exchanges has begun to be distributed throughout the civilized world, and the returns received for these invoices

are daily adding to the value of its collections. This extensive system of exchanges tends to give a national importance to the Museum, inasmuch as it represents the range of its transactions and the spirit in which its investigations are conducted.

The Museum is not intended merely as a great show of specimens in natural history; it is, and has been from the beginning, an educational institution. Beside the regular courses of lectures in zoölogy and geology, connected with the Lawrence Scientific School and delivered in the Museum, additional courses on special branches of zoölogy are now given by the assistants and by the Curator, who has of late added to his usual courses one upon the natural history of the domesticated animals, especially addressed to the farmers of the neighborhood. His chief object in this course has been to establish a relation, long considered most desirable, between the practical agriculturist and the man of science. Occupied with the same objects, though from very different points of view, they should work hand in hand, and while the theoretical knowledge of the naturalist may help the farmer to better and surer results, the latter, by conducting the daily experiments of the farm upon philosophical principles, may aid in solving some of the most important problems engaging the attention

of the scientific world. Another University course,* also by the Curator, which has now been continued at the Museum during three terms, is especially addressed to the more advanced students of the institution, with the purpose of showing, not so much what has been done, as what remains to do in zoölogy. The fundamental principles of the science are here discussed, and the subjects requiring further investigation indicated.

The appointment by several of the most prominent kindred institutions, of pupils from this school, as curators or professors, is strong proof of its progress and reputation.

State Census and Industrial Statistics.

It is required by chapter 20 of the General Statutes, that “a census of the inhabitants, ratable polls and voters” of the Commonwealth, “as they were on the first day of May of the same year, shall be taken and returned to the office of the Secretary of the Common-.

* Whenever practicable, this course has been connected with some problem of scientific inquiry now under consideration; unfinished investigations being purposely selected, in order that from lecture to lecture, the progress made during the intervening period, and the means employed by those engaged in this work, might be distinctly shown, with a view of combining the special instruction in natural history with an analysis of the mental process and a practical lesson in methods of study; thus opening the way for the rising generation in this department of science, by pointing out its desiderata, while, at the same time, its immediate application to the practical purposes of life is constantly kept in view.

wealth on or before the last day of June " decennially. An enumeration was made in the year 1855, and the returns embraced not only the particular schedules required by the statute, but also the *name* of each inhabitant, thus giving a more complete census than had ever before been taken under authority of the State.

By the laws of 1855, chapter 467, statistical information was also obtained of the several branches of industry in the Commonwealth, as they existed on the first day of June of that year in each city and town. It is very desirable that similar returns should be made in connection with the census of this year, so that some just estimate may be formed of the increase in our material resources, and the ability of our people to meet the demands of the increased expenditures and taxation incident to the war.

I commend this subject to the early attention of the Legislature, in order that the necessary preparation may be made for distributing the proper blanks, and issuing instructions to the officers charged with collecting the statistics. It would be desirable that the schedules for these statistics should embrace the points of inquiry made by the Federal Government, in order that comparisons may be instituted with the similar statistics of the Federal census of 1860. They

can also include the inquiries framed by our own survey of 1855, and thus render possible a like comparison.

I desire to call attention to the excess of women in Massachusetts, and to the surplus of men in Oregon, California and other remote Western communities. The facility with which young men migrate, the attractions and opportunities for them of new States; the obvious embarrassments to the migration of young women, the attractions of home, wherever it is, to the heart of woman, and her natural dependence, combine to create this inequality in the distribution of the sexes. In Oregon, having 52,160 inhabitants, according to the census of 1860, there were 19,961 males over fifteen years old, and only 9,878 females above that age. Its population is now estimated at over 100,000—this disproportion yet remaining. In Massachusetts there were 257,833 males between the ages of fifteen and forty, and 287,009 females, or a surplus of 29,166. The excess of women of all ages above fifteen years, was 38,846. The absorption of men by the military and naval service during the intervening four years has aggravated this disproportion. And it is a disastrous one: it disorders the market for labor; it reduces women and men to an unnatural competition for employments

fitted for men alone, tends to increase the number both of men unable to maintain families, and of women who must maintain themselves unaided. In civilized, refined society, it is the office and duty of man to protect woman, to furnish her a sphere, a support, a home. In return, she comforts, refines and adorns domestic life, the family, and the range of social influences. This is also the plainly providential order. Where women are driven to the competitions of the market with men, or where men are left unsolaced and unrefined by the presence of women, society is alike weakened and demoralized.

I know of no more useful object to which the Commonwealth can lend its aid than that of a movement adapted in a practical way to open the door of emigration to young women who are wanted for teachers, and for every other appropriate as well as domestic employment in the remote West, but who are leading anxious and aimless lives in New England.

Soldiers' Vote.

A proposition to amend the Constitution of Massachusetts, empowering the Legislature to provide a way to collect the votes of those citizens absent from home in the service of the country in time of war, passed the General Court at its last session. I recommend

its early adoption by this General Court, and that a day be fixed for its ratification by the people, sufficiently early to enable our soldiers to vote at the next autumnal election.

The Corporation Tax Act.

The Act called the *Corporation Tax Act*, (Acts of 1864, chap. 208,) has been in operation during the past year, and enough is already known to warrant the belief of its soundness in principle and in its general features. It would be desirable that a similar law should be adopted by the several States, with a correlative provision, similar to that of Connecticut, namely, that "it shall not be necessary to include in the list of any person taxable in any city or town any property situated out of the Commonwealth, when it can be made satisfactorily to appear to the assessor or assessors that the same is fully assessed and taxed in the State where such property is situated, to the same extent as is other like property, owned by citizens of such State." This would tend to secure the taxation of all corporate property somewhere, to prevent the stock of non-residents being taxed twice, when it should only be taxed like other property and by that Government within whose jurisdiction it exists

and by which it is protected. The particulars of the operation of the Corporation Tax Act will be given in the report of the Commissioners charged with its execution.

I had hoped to declare the aggregate valuation of the Commonwealth in this Address, as ascertained by the Committee of Valuation. But, although it has pursued diligently its labors, the unavoidable delay incident to executing this Act for the first time, has prevented the materials therefor from coming into the hands of the Committee in season to complete the work. I recommend that this General Court shall, if need be, provide by Resolve for the further continuance of the powers of the Committee and for the equitable compensation of its members.

In former annual addresses I have recommended the *Abolition of the Penalty of Death*, also an important change in *The Law of Marriage and Divorce*, a substantial modification of *The Usury Laws*, and also the establishment of an Institution for *The Curative Treatment of Inebriates*. Without repeating what I have heretofore had the honor to pronounce, I respectfully ask your recurrence to my printed addresses to former Legislatures. The views there expressed did

not fail to receive such support from those to whom they were immediately addressed, as to encourage the belief that time and discussion alone are wanting to their ultimate adoption. I believe they express the conclusions of the best modern thinkers.

The Militia.

Immediately after the adjournment of the last Legislature, steps were taken for the reorganization of the militia under the Act of May 14, 1864. By General Order No. 22, of the 23d of June, the different commanding officers were directed to make returns of the condition of their several commands; and by General Order No. 32, of the 20th of August, issued as soon as these returns had been received and examined, those of the existing companies and regiments which presented evidence of ability to conform to the requirements of the new law, were designated and continued in being, under the power conferred upon the commander-in-chief by that law; and all other organizations were disbanded.

There are at this moment twenty-three unattached companies of infantry, six companies of cavalry, two companies of light artillery, and two companies of cadets, fully organized. Of these, fifteen companies of infantry, two of cavalry, and one of light artillery,

have been organized during the past year, exclusive of those specially raised to fill up the regiments of one hundred days men.

The 3d, 5th, 6th, 8th, 42d, and 60th Regiments of Infantry of the Volunteer Militia, which volunteered for one hundred days' duty, and were recently mustered out of the United States' service, have also been maintained and continued, to afford them proper time to recruit and prove their ability to maintain themselves in conformity with the requirements of the new law. I am assured that at least four of these regiments will be able to do this, and have little doubt that by adding to them, in place of companies specially raised for their late duty and which may now disband, such of the unattached companies as are situated within the districts included in these regiments, these various organizations which have won so enviable a fame, may be strengthened and made thoroughly efficient.

I shall at an early day transmit for the use of the General Court, a Report made by Colonel Harrison Ritchie, my senior aide-de-camp, on the progress thus far made toward the general organization of the militia under the Act of 1864. To this report, prepared with the utmost care and completeness, I shall refer the Legislature for information on this important subject, adding only at

this moment, that the preliminary division of the State into company-districts, as therein recommended, has been adopted and promulgated in General Order No. 49, of December 7, 1864, and orders for the first elections of captains of companies in those districts issued.

The labor and detail involved in re-establishing the militia on a footing at once constitutional and efficient, were not to be estimated in advance, and I trust that the legislation of last year will be left undisturbed by change until the organization thereby established shall have been perfected. Radical and important changes will invalidate what has been already done, and would postpone again for a year a final organization which is now in progress toward a successful completion; whereas, any alterations required in the present law will be more clearly seen when the system established by it shall have been put into full operation.

I will not here repeat the views which I have had the honor to submit heretofore on different occasions to the General Court, upon the great importance of a more general introduction of elementary military instruction into our system of public education, and of the establishment of an academy particularly devoted to the higher branches of this and its allied services. They will be found in my address to the Legislature of

1862, and the report by Col. Ritchie accompanying it on this subject, and more at length in my address to the Legislature of last year, with the able report of the commissioners concerning the establishment of a military academy, appointed under Chapter 73 of the Resolves of 1863, as also in the reports by an informal commission, and by James Freeman Clarke, to be found in Senate Documents, Nos. 12 and 61 of 1864.

I recommend the subject to the consideration of the Legislature, merely stating that while the success of the experiment of military training in those public schools in which it has been tried, has confirmed my views of its feasibility, the experience of the past year has also strengthened my conviction of its importance and of the benefits to be derived from it.

Recruiting in the Rebel States.

By an Act of Congress, passed the 4th day of July, 1864, it is enacted that it shall be lawful for the Executive of any of the loyal States to send recruiting agents into any of the States declared to be in rebellion, except Arkansas, Tennessee, and Louisiana, to recruit volunteers who shall be credited to the State which may procure the enlistment, and to the respective sub-divisions thereof.

Pursuant to this law, the Secretary of War provided by General Order No. 227 of the series of 1864, for the inspection and muster-in of the recruits, and for the proper regulation of enlistments; establishing at leading convenient points camps of rendezvous where recruits may be delivered, mustered, and distributed.

For the purpose of securing the prompt, economical, and just execution of the law and order aforesaid, in harmony with the military authorities of the United States, and of avoiding competition between towns to the injury of them all, as well as of securing the largest practicable number of recruits for the common and equitable benefit of such cities, wards, and towns as may co-operate with the Government of the Commonwealth in obtaining them, an order (No. 27 of the series of 1864,) was promulgated from the Commonwealth Head-quarters, under which the work has proceeded with satisfactory success. It has been conducted under the able direction of the Provost-Marshal-General of the Commonwealth, (Colonel Joseph M. Day,) with the advice of a Board of Recruitment, selected from among gentlemen of experience and of known devotion to the public welfare, representing different portions of the State. It has been our aim to conduct this recruitment in a spirit of implicit obedience to the

Act of Congress, and of exact conformity to the order of the War Department above alluded to, having in view primarily the fundamental purpose of increasing the army by the enlistment of able-bodied colored men. The bounties provided by the Legislature of Massachusetts are required to be paid to the recruits themselves after their muster-in to the credit of the Commonwealth. The expenses of carrying on the work are paid out of the moneys furnished by the municipalities, for whose common benefit the recruits obtained are distributed. The economy of the method adopted is amply vindicated. The whole expenditure of every description, including that of the Provost-Marshal's Bureau at home, and of assistants, of paymasters, and all other agents, falls considerably below the average sum of \$125, deposited by the towns for each recruit. The brief experience we have had since the Act of July went into operation, tends to confirm the views I had the honor to express, in advance, in the last Annual Address. And although the recruitment of persons in the rebel States, especially within the lines of military operations, otherwise than through the agents and by the methods heretofore used in the army, has not met the favor of most Commanding Generals, yet I am of the opinion that their objections originated mainly in their apprehensions that the

agents of the States would, by reckless competition, by infraction of just military rules, and by subordinating the common good to the selfish purpose of swelling the number of their credited recruits, be found at least dangerous, if not injurious. I am glad to declare that our own officers have creditably sustained themselves, under the difficult circumstances of their positions, have avoided collisions with those of the army, and have apparently conducted with fidelity alike to the Commonwealth and the Union, and with honesty toward all persons.

Naval Credits.

Until the passage of a Resolution of Congress, on February 24, 1864, relative to the transfer of persons from Military Service to the Naval Service, no credits in making requisitions for Volunteers in the Army, nor in conducting the draft, were given for men who had enlisted into the Navy, whether as seamen or marines. That resolution directed enlistments into the Naval Service to be credited to the appropriate districts, under regulations to be prescribed by the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy. This legislation was the beginning of tardy justice to those communities whose people had contributed largely to the Navy, and thus weak-

ened their ability to respond to the exactions for the Army, without securing to themselves any corresponding immunity from draft. I had endeavored previously to do what I could in behalf of the people of Massachusetts, to claim that their services rendered upon the ocean not less than upon the land, should receive, by amendment of the National legislation, the credit alike due to an equitable adjustment of public burthens, and to the patriotic fame of the Commonwealth. Under the resolution of the 24th of February, those men who were afterwards enlisted in the Navy, were at last duly credited. But it was not until the 4th of July that full justice was obtained.

By an Act of the present Congress of the United States, Chap. 237, approved July 4, 1864, it is provided in Section 8, that "all persons in the naval service of the United States, who have entered said service during the present rebellion, who have not been credited to the quota of any town, district, ward or State, by reason of their being in said service and not enrolled prior to February twenty-fourth, eighteen hundred and sixty-four, shall be enrolled and credited to the quota of the town, ward, district or State in which they respectively reside, upon satisfactory proof of their residence made to the Secretary of War."

The Secretary of War appointed the Governor of Massachusetts and the Hon. John H. Clifford, a Commission to ascertain what credits this State and its several sub-divisions were entitled to under this law. The letter of appointment, dated July 7, 1864, says: "In determining this question, the Secretary thinks it will be fair to presume that the State in which the enlistments have been made, is entitled to the credit of those enlistments unless it shall appear by more direct evidence that the credits belong elsewhere. The point of law to be observed in applying the Act quoted, will readily be perceived by the Commission."

The Commission thus constituted entered immediately upon the discharge of its duties. Copies were first obtained of the records of naval enlistments kept at the Charlestown Navy Yard; and on the 21st of July, a circular was sent to the Mayor of each city and the Chairman of the Selectmen of each town, giving notice to the municipal authorities to return to Major William Rogers, Assistant Adjutant-General, on or before the 10th day of August, lists, under oath, certifying the names of all persons residing within their respective municipalities who had entered the naval service of the United States during the rebellion, and who had not been credited

to the quota of any town, district or ward, by reason of their being in said service and not enrolled prior to February 24th, 1864; and these lists were required to distinguish, as far as possible, the men belonging to each sub-district. The returns, in reply to this circular, were generally made with promptness. As they were received, they were copied in alphabetical order; and all the records of persons found to have enlisted in Massachusetts into the Naval Service during the war, were embodied in eighteen books, containing in all, 22,360 names. The whole work was required to be completed and a report thereon made to the Acting Provost-Marshal-General of the United States for Massachusetts, on the 5th day of September. The number of clerks was therefore increased so as to employ about twenty-five men during the day and an equal number during the night.

The rules adopted by the Commissioners for crediting, were: 1. To credit only those who had joined the service subsequently to the rebellion. 2. To credit only those who had joined the service at some rendezvous in the State. 3. To credit to the State at large, men whose residence could not be clearly settled.

The Commission was governed by the rules which obtain in giving credits for enlistments in the army;

the enlistment of one man for three years was counted as an unit, and all credits, whether for one, two, three or four years, made to conform thereto. This was pursuant to the 3d section of the Act of July 1, 1864, (Chap. 201,) which requires "that all enlistments into the naval service or marine corps during the present war, shall be credited to the appropriate township, precinct or district, in the same manner as enlistments for the army."

On September 5, a Report was furnished, complete in everything but the distribution of the surplus remaining to the credit of the State at large, which was divided *pro rata* among the different cities and towns. The final Report was rendered on September 10. I present a tabular recapitulation of these Reports.*

Duplicate copies were then prepared of the distribution of credits to the cities and towns. These

*NAVAL CREDITS.—NUMBER OF MEN—	One year.	Two years.	Three years.	Reduced to three years.
Assigned to Cities and Towns,	3,119	1,858	6,742	9,020½
To State at large, . . .	4,113	881	5,647	7,605½
Totals,	7,232	2,739	12,389	16,625½
Total number of men,				22,860

were completed on September 30, which ended the duties of the Naval Commission.

Material Support of the Union by Massachusetts.

The number of men which, according to the computation of the War Department, the Government of the United States has called upon Massachusetts to furnish to the military service, during the rebellion, is 117,624. The requisitions thus assumed to have been made, although, as stated in my Annual Address of last year, those of 1861 were *pro formâ* only, and were never made in fact, and although I was, during that period, urging upon the acceptance of the General Government troops beyond the number it was then willing to receive, are reckoned as follows :—

Call of 1861, <i>pro formâ</i> ,	34,868
Call of July 2, 1862,	19,080
Call of August, 1862, 19,080 militia for 9 months, reduced to 3 years' standard,	4,770
Call of February 1, 1864, for 500,000,	26,597
Call of March 14, 1864, for 200,000,	10,639
Call of July 18, 1864, for 500,000,	21,670
	<hr/>
	117,624

The number actually furnished by Massachusetts, to the army and navy, up to the 22d day of December 1864, (reckoning the nine months men

at only one-fourth of their actual number, and thus reducing 16,685 of this denomination to the value of 4,171 three years volunteers, and reducing the number enlisted into the navy, to the same term of three years,) was 125,437; *making a surplus over all calls, of seven thousand eight hundred and thirteen, (7,813.)*

The number of men credited to Massachusetts up to October 17, 1863, reckoned as individuals, was 75,608, but reduced to the standard of three years' enlistments, was 58,895. I recited the details of these to the last General Court, and an abstract of them is included in an Appendix (C) to this Address. In the same Appendix is contained a detailed statement of the number of men, (66,542,) since then credited to Massachusetts.

It will be seen from that statement that this Commonwealth has contributed to the *Army alone*, during the last year, *nine* new regiments, *one* battalion, *three* batteries and *eight* companies, amounting to 10,900 men; beside recruits, re-enlisted men, veteran-reserves, men enlisted in the regular army, conscripts and substitutes, amounting to 34,546 more; or 45,446 in all.

In addition, Massachusetts has furnished during the year 1864, 1,209 men for ninety days', and 5,461 men for one hundred days' military service, *who*

are not credited to the quota of the State by the General Government. Tabular statements of these are presented in the Appendix, marked E and F.

The foregoing statement of 125,437 credited to Massachusetts, is far from giving our whole number of soldiers. Beside the omission of those who volunteered for three months, and for ninety or one hundred days, there has been a reduction made of nine months' men to three years' men, and a reduction of seamen who enlisted for one or two years, to the equivalent of three years' service. The actual number of men furnished by the Commonwealth, as shown by the statement in the Appendix, marked G, is 153,486.

The proportional contribution of Massachusetts to the war, will appear in a still stronger light, when compared with the number enrolled in the militia of the State for the year 1864, which is as follows:

Number between ages of 18 and 45, enrolled by Assessors,	151,929
Number between ages of 18 and 45, returned by Assessors as liable to do duty,	133,767
Number between ages of 18 and 24, returned by Assessors,	23,873

By this statement—without allowing for the number of re-enlistments, which it is impossible exactly to reckon,—it appears that Massachusetts has sent more men into the service than are now to be found

in the State between the ages of 18 and 45; and 20,000 more than there are now in the State liable to do military duty.

I have received official notice from the Acting Assistant Provost-Marshal-General, that, under the last requisition of the President for 300,000 men, dated December 19, 1864, the number to be furnished by Massachusetts is 805; the amount of the credits heretofore allowed to this Commonwealth, above all previous calls, having been so largely in advance as to leave but a small portion of that contingent to be raised here, and even this small balance is left only in consequence of reducing the number of one and two years' men by division, to the equivalent of three years' men. Of this portion, 271 are to be raised in the 8th Congressional District, and 534 in the 9th. There could be no better or more emphatic evidence than this, of the degree to which Massachusetts has kept up her recruitment for the service of the country. If the quota of the State, under the President's calls, were considered as a unit, there would be no requisition whatever on Massachusetts for any portion of this contingent, we, as a State, having a surplus of several thousands. Under the system pursued at the War Department, however, each Congressional District is treated as a unit, and

hence it comes that there is a demand on two districts now for men, although the credits to other districts and to the State at large, are largely in excess of all demands.

It will interest the General Court to be informed that the suggestion frequently and publicly made, and intended to impugn the patriotism of the people of the Commonwealth, that the requisitions on them have been largely met by importing recruits from abroad, is not founded in fact. It is true that I have deemed it important to the public welfare that the employment of persons capable of increasing the masculine industrial and military strength of the Commonwealth, should be favored. To that end, whenever opportunity offered to obtain good recruits for the army from among persons desiring to come hither to aid the defence and to enjoy the blessings of a free government, I have always accepted them.

But the whole number thus obtained during the past year, (of course not including previous and permanent residents of foreign birth who may have volunteered,) is but nine hundred and seven (907) out of the whole aggregate of recruits exhibited by the preceding statement. These are divided among four regiments, and include some of their best soldiers.

Up to December 22, 1864, the whole number of colored troops which have been credited to Massachusetts, during the war, including the Fifty-Fourth Infantry, Fifty-Fifth Infantry, Fifth Cavalry, and their recruits, is only 4,731.* The whole number of foreign recruits introduced to our credit, is 907. If we add to these the number of men in the Veteran-Reserve Corps and Regular Army enlisted to our credit, 5,034, we shall have an aggregate of only 10,672—of whom many were proper citizens or residents of Massachusetts—the enlistment of whom to the credit of this Commonwealth has been made the occasion of criticism or complaint, though scarcely by

* 54th Regiment Infantry, originally,	1,029
55th Regiment Infantry, originally,	1,023
5th Regiment Cavalry, originally,	1,016
	— 3,068
54th Regiment Infantry, subsequent recruits,	112
55th Regiment Infantry, subsequent recruits,	79
5th Regiment Cavalry, subsequent recruits,	301
	— 492
Bands,	125
Enlisted at Fortress Monroe,	88
Enlisted in Rebel States under law of July 4, 1864,	958
	— 1,171
	— 4,731

Up to the close of the year 1864 the Provost-Marshal-General of the Commonwealth had received additional returns of enlistments in rebel States, for Massachusetts, (under General Order No. 227 of War Dep't,) increasing that aggregate from 958 to 1,214, with informal notice of 175 more.

any who entertain a cordial sympathy with the army of the Union, the policy of the Government, or the traditionary doctrines of Massachusetts.

These all have been enlisted under the regulations of the Department of War. If our bounties have been paid to secure the re-enlistment of Regulars and members of the Veteran-Reserve Corps, it is because it was the policy of the United States, as disclosed in regulations of the War Department, to obtain them,—a policy not suggested by the State Government of Massachusetts. If we have accepted colored volunteers—who have come to Massachusetts for the purpose of becoming soldiers—and turned them over as soldiers to the United States, it is because when we began to accept them, and until we had raised the equivalent of two regiments, no other opportunity for them existed in the country. We believed in colored men—others did not. We obtained permission to try them.* *We assumed the hazards of the enterprise, but the Country reaps the reward of its brilliant and assured success.*

Passing from the military to the fiscal contributions of our Commonwealth to the Union, Massachusetts, although thirty-third in area, and by the census of 1860, seventh in population and seventh in wealth,

among the States, yet in the fiscal year 1862-3 was third, and in 1863-4 was fourth* in the amount

* In 1860 the population of Virginia, exclusive of West Virginia, 1,246,690; Kentucky, 1,155,684; Missouri, 1,182,012; Tennessee, 1,109,801, and Indiana, 1,350,428, differed little from the population of Massachusetts, 1,231,066. The valuation of property in these States by the census of that year, was also near enough to complete that additional element for a comparison of their relative pecuniary contributions to the General Government; but by reason of the disturbed domestic condition of many of them, Indiana and Kentucky remain the only ones with which such a comparison may now fairly be made. In the following table Illinois also is included in the comparison, although its population and valuation are far in excess of those of Massachusetts.

	1860.		1863-64.		
	Popula- tion.	Property.	Collections Int. Rev.	Income Tax.	Distil'd Spirits, Excise.
Massachusetts, .	1,231,066	\$769,651,672	\$11,160,652 16	\$1,904,732 03	\$783,509 64
Illinois, . .	1,711,951	904,182,620	9,756,491 37	586,435 00	7,262,433 15
Indiana, . .	1,350,428	624,800,849	3,257,401 64	263,936 98	2,084,442 06
Kentucky, . .	1,155,684	757,378,457	3,799,589 52	352,775 44	1,157,364 13

Thus, leaving out of consideration the internal revenue from banks and minor sources which would swell the disproportion, and confining the estimate solely to internal revenue "collections," these four States stand relatively as follows: Where Illinois pays \$1, Massachusetts pays \$1.14. Where Indiana pays \$1, Massachusetts pays \$3.42. Where Kentucky pays \$1, Massachusetts pays \$2.93. And if we leave out of consideration the excise on distilled spirits, and base the comparison on the other sources of "collections," it then stands as follows: Where Illinois pays \$1, Massachusetts pays \$4.16. Where Indiana pays \$1, Massachusetts pays \$8.84. Where Kentucky pays \$1, Massachusetts pays \$3.92.

The three States which in 1864 surpassed Massachusetts in the total amount of internal revenue paid by them, are compared as follows: and as Illinois is the fifth State, Indiana the sixth, and Kentucky the seventh, in the order of payments, following directly after Massachusetts, the fourth,

of internal revenue paid by her to the United States, being surpassed in the former year only by New York and Pennsylvania, and in the latter year only by New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio. Excluding the States of North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Texas, from the comparison, the percentage of the population, property, internal revenue collections, and income tax of Massachusetts, on the aggregate of all the other States and the Territories and District of Columbia, is as follows:—

	Population.	Property.	Collections.	Income Tax.
Per cent.	4.7811	5.1676	10.9166	12.7671

By this relative test of percentages, which is the critical test, Massachusetts, thirty-third in area, seventh in population, and seventh in wealth among the States, is *second* in her proportional contribution to the internal revenue of the General Government, being sur-

the two tables combined illustrate the relative position of Massachusetts among these States in this regard.

	1860.		1863-64.		
	Popula- tion.	Property.	Collections Int. Rev.	Income Tax.	Distil'd Spirits, Excise.
New York, . . .	3,880,735	\$2,316,743,547	\$24,636,050 77	\$4,918,369 67	\$5,986,255 30
Pennsylvania, . .	2,906,215	1,659,208,924	12,960,482 79	2,035,166 03	2,194,425 94
Ohio, . . .	2,339,511	1,269,256,606	11,791,333 68	1,117,691 18	6,442,408 03
Massachusetts, . .	1,231,066	769,651,672	11,160,652 16	1,904,732 03	783,509 64

All the figures used in these statistics are furnished to me from the Internal Revenue Bureau at Washington, unless otherwise expressly stated.

passed, in this test, only by her sister and neighbor, Rhode Island.

Nor does the gross sum of \$11,160,652.16, arising from internal revenue collections, represent all the internal revenue contribution of Massachusetts in the year 1863-4. Additional to this, is the internal revenue to the United States from taxes on her banks and from minor sources, \$979,748.46. And beside this, is her proportion of the tax on Federal salaries, the total of which tax for all the States, for 1863-4, was \$1,705,124.63, and also her proportion of purchases of internal revenue stamps, the sales of which, during the same period, amounted to \$5,894,945.14. A fair allowance for these would swell her internal revenue payments, during the last fiscal year, (June 30, 1863,—June 30, 1864,) to more than *fourteen millions of dollars*.

The fidelity with which her people have responded to these taxes, I venture to assert is unsurpassed in the history of the world. The proportion of the internal revenue collections to the assessments, in every district of Massachusetts, exceeds 99 50-100 per cent. ; and in most of the districts it exceeds 99 80-100 per cent.*

* The following statistics are furnished to me by the courtesy of the Collectors of Internal Revenue of the respective Revenue Districts, which

Making allowance for incorrect assessments, subsequently abated or annulled, and for absolutely uncollectable assessments upon the lowest class of liquor retailers, the internal revenue collections for Massachusetts substantially correspond, dollar for dollar, with the assessments,—and this not by distraint, not by force, not by terror, but by the cheerful alacrity of the whole people of the Commonwealth to lavish their money as they lavish their blood, for the cause of Order, and Union, and Liberty.

Nor has the necessity of these extraordinary exertions to support the military and financial wants of the Nation, shaken the persistent courage or fidelity of

correspond in their boundaries to the Congressional Districts. The original internal revenue law went into operation September 1, 1862:—

No. of District.	Assessments		Collections on these assessments.
	Sept. 1, 1862, to Aug. 1, 1864.		
I.	.	\$1,152,785 45	\$1,151,435 35
II.	.	1,848,936 35	1,848,135 14
V.	.	1,597,895 66	1,590,680 89
VI.	.	2,392,002 41	2,389,273 04
VII.	.	1,825,205 81	1,822,346 90
VIII.	.	2,385,080 88	2,382,246 20
IX.	.	1,055,590 78	1,047,571 71
X.	.	1,704,760 74	1,700,845 05

From Districts Nos. 3 and 4,—the two Boston districts,—I have not full statistics. I am informed, however, by their Collectors, that the percentages of collections to assessments, exceed in them, as in the others, 99 50-100. In the foregoing figures, the totals for some of the Districts,—as for instance the 5th, 9th, and 10th,—include all the assessments, correct and incorrect. Deducting incorrect assessments, the percentage of collections in those districts would be equal to the percentage in the other districts, as for instance in the 1st and 2d, in whose totals such deductions are made.

her people. In the election of November they pronounced the collective will of Massachusetts at the polls. They declared her understanding of the issue in controversy, and her purpose to stand by the cause of Union and of Liberty until the prophecies of the National heart shall be fulfilled. Of a popular vote of 175,487, she gave to Abraham Lincoln, as the candidate who represented her own traditions and spirit, as well as her hope of a future for the Nation and for the People, a popular majority of 77,992. His purpose to stand by the Proclamation of Liberty finds a response in nearly all hearts, and is echoed by the overwhelming acclamation of her daughters and her sons. Nor will they "bate one jot of heart or hope" until the war shall "cease on the part of the Government *when it shall have ceased on the part of those who began it.*"*

Amendments of the Federal Constitution.

The proposal to amend the Federal Constitution by empowering Congress to abolish slavery is urged by the President, in his last annual message, upon the reconsideration of the House of Representatives. In the Senate it has received the needful two-thirds

* See closing sentence of the President's Message to Congress of Dec., 1864.

majority. In the House it barely failed. It is hoped that reconsideration may disclose a change of votes, and establish the adoption by the present Congress of a measure which will ultimately extinguish slavery and prohibit it forever.

If this shall be done, it will be the welcome duty and the lasting honor of the present General Court to ratify the amendment on the part of Massachusetts. If it shall fail, I trust the President will promptly call a special session of the new Congress, by which its adoption may be considered certain. It would well become the Legislature of this Commonwealth, in such an emergency, by solemn resolution, to request the President to convene Congress for a duty so grand in purpose, as well as practical in character and exigent in importance.

I venture also to suggest the proposition of an amendment to the Federal Constitution, *repealing its inhibition of duties on exports*. A moderate tax on the exportation of cotton, and perhaps of some other articles, might be levied by Congress, which would materially increase the national revenue, without diminishing the production or sale of those articles; while at the same time indirectly promoting their manufacture at home, and thus strengthening the

country in its competition against other nations in the markets of the world.

Had the rebellion been successful, the Southern policy would have been to impose a light revenue duty on exports, (which would have affected the Northern as well as the European buyers,) and also to impose a greatly reduced duty on European manufactures. Thus on introduction of foreign manufactured goods into the South, they hoped by discriminating against our manufactures, and by controlling seven-eighths of the navigable rivers of the continent, and of their reach into the interior, to smuggle foreign goods into the West and the North-west, despite the laws of the United States—with the intent to disintegrate the free States, to break down American manufactures, discourage skilled, intelligent labor, and reduce the laboring classes, by measures alike audacious and insidious, to the dependence held by the slave-power appropriate for the masses of men.

I desire to see not only Slavery extirpated, but its policy reversed, and an American policy inaugurated which will secure at once the freedom of the People, the strength of the Government, and the independence of American industry.

The statesmanship of the future gives cause for more anxiety than any military concern of the present.

How to combine the austerity of a government determined to vindicate its rightful power, with the parental forbearance which discriminates those who are swept into the current of treason from those who are the wanton architects of ruin ; this is one of the problems. For myself, I would counsel forgiveness to the masses of our countrymen, hurried, precipitated by a superior power dominating their intelligence and their capacity of resistance, into the vortex of a ruin they neither foresaw nor even yet comprehend. Misguided, cheated, conscribed, overwhelmed, they have been led to battle by the light of their blazing homes. They have perilled their own lives while they have assailed ours, without comprehending the occasion of the war, and without the ability to avoid it. Victims of an evil, subjects of a wrong which involved their own fate, they were unable to escape its meshes or to resist its power. Let the people of Massachusetts remember that the poor oppressed democracy of Georgia and the Carolinas are their brethren. We fight to carry the school-house, the free press, the free ballot and all the independent manhood of our own New England liberty to the people of the slavery-ridden South. Delivering them from the domination of their oppressors,—as Maryland has just now delivered herself,—let them enjoy with

us the fruit and the feast of victory. Nor let sentimental politics surrender either them, or the black man, with whom they have shared the voiceless woe of his servitude, or the country on whose fate our own depends, to the possibilities of any reactionary theory. So, too, let the color of an African extraction, so long the badge of Slavery, cease to be the badge of exclusion from any of the privileges of citizenship. Let intelligent manhood enjoy that recognition and reap its due reward. Then we will restore government, order and society. Then we will reconstruct the States in rebellion, on a ground of principle and faith which will command the friendship of the Nations, the sympathy of mankind, and the benediction of God.

THE old Hall of the House of Representatives at Washington, with which is associated the fame, the wisdom and the eloquence of so many American statesmen, has been set apart by Congress* for a National Gallery of Statuary, commemorative of citizens illustrious for their historic renown or distinguished civic or military service, whose careers on earth have ended. Each State will be invited to furnish two statues in marble or bronze. Many years will elapse before this

* Act of 2d July, 1864, Chapter 210, Section 2.

gallery of historic art will be complete. But there are already names, ample in number, belonging to history, and forming a part of the renown of our ancient Commonwealth—venerable names of men over whose graves retreating Time has long cast his shadow, and of whom such monumental commemoration would be worthy and becoming. I respectfully recommend the appointment of a Commission, to report during the present session a plan of coöperation on the part of Massachusetts in this eminently patriotic, national design.

If these honors are paid to the heroes and sages of the past, what commemoration awaits those who in this generation shall command the gratitude of posterity!

In the vestibule of the Capitol of the Commonwealth you passed to this hall of your deliberations, beneath a hundred battle-flags, war-worn, begrimed, and bloody. They are sad, but proud memorials of the transcendent crime of the Rebellion, the curse of Slavery, the elastic energy of a free Commonwealth, the glory and the grief of War.

There has been no loyal army, the shout of whose victory has not drowned the dying sigh of a son of Massachusetts. There has been no victory gained which her blood has not helped to win. Since the

War began, four hundred and thirty-four officers whose commissions bore our seal, or who were promoted by the President to higher than regimental commands, have tasted death in the defence of their Country's flag. The names of nine General officers, sixteen Colonels, seventeen Lieutenant-Colonels, twenty Majors, six Surgeons, nine Assistant-Surgeons, two Chaplains, one hundred and ten Captains, and two hundred and forty-five Lieutenants, illustrate their Roll of Honor.* Nor will the history be deemed complete, nor our duty done, until the fate and fame of every man—to the humblest private of them all—shall have been inscribed upon the records of this Capitol,—there to remain, I trust, until the earth and sea shall give up their dead. And thus shall the Capitol itself become for every soldier-son of ours, a monument.

“Nothing is here for tears, nothing to wail
Or knock the breast, no weakness, no contempt,
Dispraise or blame, nothing but well and fair,
And what may quiet us in a death so noble.

* * * * *

Then plant it round with shade
Of laurel ever green, and branching palm,
With all his trophies hung, and acts enroll'd
In copious legend, or sweet lyric song.
Thither shall all the valiant youth resort,
And from his memory inflame their breasts
To matchless valour, and adventures high:
The virgins also shall on feastful days
Visit his tomb with flowers.”

* A list of these in detail, is subjoined, in Appendix [H.]

GENTLEMEN OF THE SENATE, AND

OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES :—

Standing, probably for the last time, before the General Court of Massachusetts, to assume the office of her chief executive magistrate, I cannot repress my gratitude for the opportunity I have enjoyed of serving her, at a period so stirring to the heart, when every duty is sublime ; and for the generous indulgence of her People toward my efforts for the welfare and glory of the State.

And whatever may hereafter betide or befall me or mine, MAY THE GOD OF OUR FATHERS PRESERVE OUR COMMONWEALTH !

APPENDIX.

[A .]

*Resources and Liabilities.**Liabilities on account of Railroad Corporations.*

Western Railroad Corporation,	. \$3,999,555	56
Eastern Railroad Corporation,	. 500,000	00
Norwich Railroad Corporation,	. 400,000	00
Southern Vt. R. R. Corporation,	. 200,000	00
Troy and Greenfield R. R. Corp'n,	1,474,880	00
	<hr/>	\$6,574,435 56

State Funded Debt.

Lunatic Hospital Scrip—

1852, due 1865,	. \$100,000	00
1853, due 1865,	. 70,000	00
1854, due 1874,	. 94,000	00
	<hr/>	\$264,000 00

State Almshouse Scrip—

1852, due 1872,	. \$100,000	00
1853, due 1873,	. 60,000	00
1854, due 1874,	. 50,000	00
	<hr/>	210,000 00

State House Scrip—

1853, due 1873,	. \$65,000	00
1854, due 1874,	. 100,000	00
	<hr/>	165,000 00

Six per cent. Scrip—

1856, due 1862,	. \$1,000	00
1856, due 1866,	. 100,000	00
	<hr/>	101,000 00

Lunatic Hospital Scrip—

1857, due 1868,	. \$150,000	00
1857, due 1877,	. 50,000	00
	<hr/>	200,000 00

Consolidation of Statutes Scrip—

1868, due 1870,	150,000 00
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Five per cent. Scrip—

1861, due 1868,	. \$15,000	00
1861, due 1870,	. 21,000	00
1861, due 1872,	. 17,000	00
	<hr/>	53,000 00

Six per cent. Scrip—

1861, due 1868, .	\$75,000 00	
1861, due 1870, .	89,000 00	
1861, due 1872, .	83,000 00	
	<hr/>	\$247,000 00

Union Fund Loan Scrip—

1861, due 1871, .	\$205,000 00	
1861, due 1872, .	341,000 00	
1861, due 1873, .	304,000 00	
1861, due 1874, .	300,000 00	
1861, due 1875, .	420,000 00	
1861, due 1876, .	1,430,000 00	
1862, due 1877, .	400,000 00	
1862, due 1878, .	200,000 00	
	<hr/>	3,600,000 00

Bounty Fund Loan Scrip—

1863, due 1894, .	\$200,000 00	
1864, due 1894, .	1,500,500 00	
	<hr/>	1,700,500 00

Coast Defence Loan Scrip—

1863, due 1883, .	\$388,000 00	
1864, due 1883, .	500,000 00	
	<hr/>	888,000 00

Back Bay Loan—

1862-63, due 1880, . . .	220,000 00	
	<hr/>	\$14,372,935 56

Floating Debt.

Temporary Loans due sundry B'ks. \$3,150,750 00

Deposit Loans due

Savings Banks, . \$260,500 00

Deposit Loans due

Individuals, . 3,317,818 00

Deposit Loans due

sundry Funds, . 1,108,969 00

4,687,287 00

Cash deposits by towns and individ-

uals on account of recruits, . . 265,000 00

Outstanding claims for the quarter

ending Dec. 31, 1864, estimated, . 200,000 00

Outstanding claims for monthly pay of soldiers,	\$218,000 00	
	<hr/>	\$8,521,037 00
Total liabilities,		<hr/> <hr/> \$22,893,972 56

Resources.

Loans to Railroad Corporations—		
Mortgage W. R. R. Co.'s entire property,	\$3,999,555 56	
Mortgage E. R. R. Co.'s entire property,	500,000 00	
Mortgage N. and W. R. R. Co.'s entire property,	400,000 00	
Troy and Greenfield R. R. entire property,	1,474,880 00	
Sinking Fund, T. and G. R. R. .	79,218 00	
Southern Vt. R. R. Co.'s entire property,	200,000 00	
	<hr/>	\$6,653,653 56

For Funded Debt.

Debt Extinguishment Fund,* .	\$1,157,400 00	
Union Loan Sinking Fund,* .	2,441,093 00	
Almshouse Loan Sinking Fund,* .	94,393 00	
Back Bay Lands F'd, \$376,761 00*		
B. Bay Lands unsold, 2,000,000 00†		
	<hr/>	2,376,761 00
Bounty Loan Sinking Fund,	38,580 00	
Balance of claim against the U. S.,‡	1,907,413 41	
	<hr/>	8,015,640 41
Unproductive property,		3,187,917 33
		<hr/>
Total resources,		\$17,857,211 30

(Exclusive of School and other Trust Funds, which amount to \$2,131,326.)

* Market value.

† Commissioners' estimate; the amount, if realized, to be added to the Bounty Loan Sinking Fund, per Acts 1864, chap. 313, sect. 3.

‡ This amount, when paid, is to be added to the Union Loan Sinking Fund, per Acts 1861, chap. 209, sect. 1.

[B.]

Revenue Receipts, 1864.

State Tax,	\$2,263,287 00
Bank Tax,	630,729 06
Savings Bank Tax,	452,399 29
Semi-annual Insurance Tax,	101,565 18
Annual Insurance Tax,	26,736 41
Premium of sale of Scrip,	126,275 33
Corporation Tax,*	1,718,948 45
Miscellaneous,	520,376 89
	<hr/>
	\$5,840,317 61

Payments or Disbursements, 1864.

Executive Department,	\$31,354 75
Secretary's Department,	21,675 33
Treasurer's Department,	19,765 09
Auditor's Department,	8,761 35
Attorney-General's Department,	17,272 36
Bank Commissioners,	8,170 01
Insurance Commissioners,	6,268 91
Agricultural Department,	43,985 14
Sergeant-at-Arms' Department,	16,292 96
Judiciary Department,	154,248 90
Legislative Department,	231,099 81
Adjutant, Quartermaster, and Surgeon- General's Departments,	412,714 37
State aid, &c., to Soldiers,	2,367,278 28
Charitable,	349,871 89
Correctional,	185,683 08
Miscellaneous,	327,972 83
Interest,	463,564 70
Premium on coin,	436,278 19
	<hr/>
	\$5,102,257 95
Excess of receipts,	<hr/>
	\$738,059 66

* A very large portion of this tax is to be refunded to the several cities and towns of the Commonwealth, as soon as the accounts can be made up.

[C.]

*Detailed Statement of Men furnished by Massachusetts,
as recapitulated in the Governor's Annual Address of
January, 1864.*

Three Years Men, Previous to the Call of July, 1862.

1st Regiment Infantry, 1861,	.	.	.	.	.	1,047
2d Regiment Infantry, 1861,	.	.	.	.	.	1,046
7th Regiment Infantry, 1861,	.	.	.	.	.	1,046
9th Regiment Infantry, 1861,	.	.	.	.	.	1,047
10th Regiment Infantry, 1861,	.	.	.	.	.	1,047
11th Regiment Infantry, 1861,	.	.	.	.	.	1,050
12th Regiment Infantry, 1861,	.	.	.	.	.	1,055
13th Regiment Infantry, 1861,	.	.	.	.	.	1,021
14th Regiment Infantry, 1861,	.	.	.	.	.	1,305
15th Regiment Infantry, 1861,	.	.	.	.	.	1,040
16th Regiment Infantry, 1861,	.	.	.	.	.	1,003
17th Regiment Infantry, 1861,	.	.	.	.	.	951
18th Regiment Infantry, 1861,	.	.	.	.	.	1,012
19th Regiment Infantry, 1861,	.	.	.	.	.	852
20th Regiment Infantry, 1861,	.	.	.	.	.	762
21st Regiment Infantry, 1861,	.	.	.	.	.	1,007
22d Regiment Infantry, 1861,	.	.	.	.	.	1,050
23d Regiment Infantry, 1861,	.	.	.	.	.	1,062
24th Regiment Infantry, 1861,	.	.	.	.	.	989
25th Regiment Infantry, 1861,	.	.	.	.	.	1,032
26th Regiment Infantry, 1861,	.	.	.	.	.	1,050
27th Regiment Infantry, 1861,	.	.	.	.	.	983
28th Regiment Infantry, 1861,	.	.	.	.	.	950
29th Regiment Infantry, 1861,	.	.	.	.	.	881
30th Regiment Infantry, 1861,	.	.	.	.	.	929
31st Regiment Infantry, 1861,	.	.	.	.	.	941
1st Battery Artillery, 1861,	.	.	.	.	.	170
2d Battery Artillery, 1861,	.	.	.	.	.	152
3d Battery Artillery, 1861,	.	.	.	.	.	157
4th Battery Artillery, 1861,	.	.	.	.	.	154
5th Battery Artillery, 1861,	.	.	.	.	.	156
6th Battery Artillery, 1861,	.	.	.	.	.	139
7th Battery Artillery, 1861,	.	.	.	.	.	152
8th Battery Artillery, 1861,	.	.	.	.	.	155

Cavalry, 1861,	1,857
Sharpshooters, 1861,	208
Recruits up to August, 1862,	2,279
Co. "B," 40th N. Y. Volunteers,	101
Co. "H," 1st Excelsior Brigade,	89
Co. "D," 5th Excelsior Brigade,	90
Men in Union Coast Guard,	233
	<hr/>
	32,250

Three Years Men, under the Call of July, 1862.

32d Regiment Infantry, 1862,	1,018
33d Regiment Infantry, 1862,	942
34th Regiment Infantry, 1862,	1,027
35th Regiment Infantry, 1862,	1,018
36th Regiment Infantry, 1862,	1,015
37th Regiment Infantry, 1862,	979
38th Regiment Infantry, 1862,	1,018
39th Regiment Infantry, 1862,	987
40th Regiment Infantry, 1862,	992
41st Regiment Infantry, 1862,	1,127
9th Battery Artillery, 1862,	152
10th Battery Artillery, 1862,	156
1st Company Artillery, 1862, (Cabot's Battalion,)	147
2d Company Artillery, 1862, (Cabot's Battalion,)	140
3d Company Artillery, 1862, (3d Reg't Heavy Artil'y,)	156
Recruits from August, 1862, to May 19, 1863,	5,209
	<hr/>
Total,	16,083

Nine Months Men.

3d Regiment Infantry,	1,007
4th Regiment Infantry,	982
5th Regiment Infantry,	997
6th Regiment Infantry,	913
8th Regiment Infantry,	962
42d Regiment Infantry,	998
43d Regiment Infantry,	1,024
44th Regiment Infantry,	1,023
45th Regiment Infantry,	1,005
46th Regiment Infantry,	983

47th Regiment Infantry,	1,024
48th Regiment Infantry,	996
49th Regiment Infantry,	948
50th Regiment Infantry,	964
51st Regiment Infantry,	961
52d Regiment Infantry,	940
53d Regiment Infantry,	958
11th Battery Light Artillery,	152

Nine months men,	16,837
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Reduced to three years by dividing by 4,	4,209
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Additional Three Years Men, up to October 17, 1863.

2d Regiment Cavalry,	1,190
New Battalion for 1st Regiment Cavalry,	60
2d Regiment Heavy Artillery,	1,073
4th Unattached Company Heavy Artillery,	152
5th Unattached Company Heavy Artillery,	144
6th Unattached Company Heavy Artillery,	133
7th Unattached Company Heavy Artillery,	178
8th Unattached Company Heavy Artillery,	135
9th Unattached Company Heavy Artillery,	141
10th Unattached Company Heavy Artillery,	132
54th Regiment Infantry,	1,029
55th Regiment Infantry,	1,023
12th Battery Light Artillery,	135
13th Battery Light Artillery,	147
15th Battery Light Artillery,	172
Recruits for old Regiments and Companies,	509
4 Regiments and 11 Co's, and Recruits for three years,	6,353

RECAPITULATION.

Three years men raised before the call of July, 1862,	32,250
Under the call of July, 1862,	16,083
16,837 nine months men, equal, when reduced to three years men, to	4,209
Volunteers enlisted and mustered between January 1, 1863, and October 17, 1863,	6,353
Total, according to last Annual Address,	58,895

Detailed Statement of Men furnished by Massachusetts, in addition to those included in the foregoing Recapitulation.

2d Regiment Heavy Artillery, (additional,) . . .	788
3d Regiment Heavy Artillery, (additional,) . . .	358
1st Regiment Cavalry, (new battalion,) (additional,) . . .	360
4th Regiment Cavalry,	1,001
5th Regiment Cavalry, (colored,)	1,016
56th Regiment Infantry,	965
57th Regiment Infantry,	924
58th Regiment Infantry,	845
59th Regiment Infantry,	947
11th Battery Light Artillery, (re-enlisted,)	155
14th Battery Light Artillery,	147
16th Battery Light Artillery,	149
Men enlisted at Fortress Monroe, by Capt. Wilder, . . .	88
Band for 3d Brigade, 1st Division, 6th Corps, . . .	16
Band for 2d Brigade, 1st Division, 2d Corps, . . .	16
Band for 3d Brigade, 2d Division, 2d Corps, . . .	15
Band for 1st Brigade, 1st Division, 2d Corps, . . .	16
Band for 2d Brigade, 3d Division, 6th Corps, . . .	15
Band for 3d Brigade, 1st Division, 12th Corps, . . .	15
Band for Corps d' Afrique, No. 1,	16
Band for Corps d' Afrique, No. 2,	16

7,868

United States Provost-Marshall's enlistments for old organizations from October 17, 1863, to January 1, 1864,—

First District,	10
Third District,	67
Fourth District,	35
Fifth District,	46
Sixth District,	42
Seventh District,	55
Eighth District,	44
Ninth District,	101
Tenth District,	19—
	419

Product of draft of July, 1863,—

Conscripts,	743
Substitutes,	2,325
Paid commutation,	3,622—
	6,690

Veteran Reserve Corps and United States Regulars,	.	3,167
Recruits for old organizations,	. . . . .	5,428

Re-enlisted Veteran Volunteers,—

1st Regiment Infantry,	. . .	16
2d Regiment Infantry,	. . .	155
7th Regiment Infantry,	. . .	62
9th Regiment Infantry,	. . .	25
10th Regiment Infantry,	. . .	146
11th Regiment Infantry,	. . .	98
12th Regiment Infantry,	. . .	16
13th Regiment Infantry,	. . .	21
14th Regiment Infantry, (1st Hea. Art.,)		532
15th Regiment Infantry,	. . .	64
16th Regiment Infantry,	. . .	96
17th Regiment Infantry,	. . .	184
18th Regiment Infantry,	. . .	139
19th Regiment Infantry,	. . .	160
20th Regiment Infantry,	. . .	173
21st Regiment Infantry,	. . .	237
22d Regiment Infantry,	. . .	83
23d Regiment Infantry,	. . .	232
24th Regiment Infantry,	. . .	415
25th Regiment Infantry,	. . .	423
26th Regiment Infantry,	. . .	546
27th Regiment Infantry,	. . .	338
28th Regiment Infantry,	. . .	157
29th Regiment Infantry,	. . .	149
30th Regiment Infantry,	. . .	357
31st Regiment Infantry,	. . .	330
32d Regiment Infantry,	. . .	360
1st Regiment Cavalry,	. . .	187
1st Regiment Cavalry, (Indep't Batt'n,)		47
1st Regiment Cavalry, (Indep't Batt'n,)		86
1st Battalion Heavy Art'y, (Ft. Warren,)		60
1st Battery Light Artillery,	. . .	33
2d Battery Light Artillery,	. . .	23
3d Battery Light Artillery,	. . .	38
4th Battery Light Artillery,	. . .	93
5th Battery Light Artillery,	. . .	43

6th Battery Light Artillery,	56	
7th Battery Light Artillery,	19	
10th Battery Light Artillery,	3	
		6,202
Men in Navy whose names were borne upon the enrolment lists, and who were credited by the United States' Provost-Marshal-General, prior to February 24, 1864,		1,526
Enlistments in Navy from February 24, 1864, to July 1, 1864, credited as above,		948
Gallop's Island—Recruits for old organizations,—		
For the month of July, 1864,	805	
For the month of August, 1864,	1,037	
For the month of September, 1864,	1,141	
For the month of October, 1864,	221	
For the month of November, 1864,	469	
3d Regiment Heavy Artillery, Sept. 17, (additional,)	146	
4th Regiment Heavy Artillery,	1,660	
29th Unattached Co. Heavy Artillery,	147	
30th Unattached Co. Heavy Artillery,	146	
61st Regiment Infantry,	573	
		6,345
Enlistments in Rebel States under Act of July 4, 1864,—		
White men,	68	
Colored men,	770	
		838
Enlistments in Navy from July 1st to December 1st,	1,935	
Credits by Naval Commissioners,		16,625
Enlistments in Veteran Reserve Corps from July 1st to December 1st, 1864,		1,002
Enlistments in United States Regulars from July 1st to December 1st, 1864,		865
Enlistments in Marine Corps from July 1st to December 1st, 1864,		62
Draft, May and June, 1864,	2,056	
Draft, substitutes for enrolled men,	3,130	
Six unattached companies of Infantry for one year's service, viz.: the 2d, 17th, 19th, 20th, 21st and 25th,	573	

Enlistments from Dec. 1, to Dec. 22, 1864, namely:—

Enlistments by Provost-Marshal-General of State,—

White men,	42	
Colored men,	188	
Number of men reported to Provost-Mar- shal-General of State as having been mustered, but rolls not received, . .	129	
Gallop's Island, recruits for old organiza- tions,	484	
Naval enlistments,	20	
	<hr/>	863
		<hr/>
		66,542

RECAPITULATION.		Total.	Included in previous credits.	Additional.
New Battalion for 1st Regiment Cavalry,	. . . . .	420	60	360
4th Regiment Cavalry,	. . . . .	1,001	—	1,001
5th “ “	. . . . .	1,016	—	1,016
2d Regiment Heavy Artillery,	. . . . .	1,861	1,073	788
3d* “ “ “	. . . . .	1,379	875	504
4th “ “ “	. . . . .	1,660	—	1,660
29th “ “ “ unattached company,	. . . . .	} 293	—	293
30th “ “ “ “			
11th Battery Light Artillery, (re-enlisted,)	. . . . .	155	—	155
14th “ “ “	. . . . .	147	—	147
16th “ “ “	. . . . .	149	—	149
56th Regiment Infantry,	. . . . .	965	—	965
57th “ “ “	. . . . .	924	—	924
58th “ “ “	. . . . .	845	—	845
59th “ “ “	. . . . .	947	—	947
61st “ “ “	. . . . .	573	—	573
Six unattached Companies Infantry,	. . . . .	573	—	573
Men enlisted at Fortress Monroe in 1863,	. . . . .	88	—	88
Veteran Reserve Corps and U. S. Regulars,	. . . . .	5,034	—	5,034
Recruits for old organizations,	. . . . .	9,101	—	9,101
Re-enlisted Veterans,	. . . . .	6,202	—	6,202
Enlistments by Provost-Marshals,	. . . . .	1,257	—	1,257
Draft of July, 1863,	. . . . .	6,690	—	6,690
Draft of May and June, 1864,	. . . . .	2,056	—	2,056
Substitutes for Enrolled Men,	. . . . .	3,130	—	3,130
Bands, . . . . .	. . . . .	125	—	125
Enlistments in Dec. 1864, up to Dec. 22,	. . . . .	863	—	863

* Formed from twelve unattached companies; namely, the Third, and Sixth to Sixteenth, inclusive.

Total furnished for the army, during the last year, . . .	45,446
Naval enlistments, determined by the Naval Commission, . . .	16,625
Other naval enlistments credited during the year, . . .	4,409
Marine Corps,	62
Total of new credits,	66,542
Total of old credits, which, reduced to the three years' standard, were	58,895
	<u>†125,437</u>

† See also table in Appendix, [D.]

[E.]
Unattached Companies in Service of United States for Ninety (90) Days.

ORGANIZATION.	Name of Commander.	Date of Muster.	NUMBER.		Aggregate.
			Commiss'd Officers.	Enlisted Men.	
1st Company Infantry,	Captain Lewis J. Bird, . .	Apr. 29, 1864, .	3	95	98
2d " "	" Francis E. Porter, . .	May 3, " .	3	84	87
3d " "	" Luther Dame, . .	" 3, " .	3	82	85
4th " "	" Alpheus J. Hilbourn, .	" 3, " .	3	96	99
5th " "	" David H. Dyer, . .	" 4, " .	3	98	101
6th " "	" Charles P. Winslow, .	" 4, " .	3	80	83
7th " "	" Albert E. Proctor, . .	" 4, " .	3	83	86
8th " "	" Augustine L. Hamilton, .	" 10, " .	3	94	97
9th " "	" George H. Smith, . .	" 10, " .	3	83	86
10th " "	" George A. Perry, . .	" 10, " .	3	97	100
11th " "	" Jeremiah C. Bacheller, .	" 16, " .	3	90	93
12th " "	" Charles F. Walcott, . .	" 16, " .	3	98	101
13th " "	" Robert W. Reeves, . .	" 16, " .	3	90	93
Totals, . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	39	1,170	1,209

[F.] *Regiments and Companies in Service of United States for One Hundred Days.*

ORGANIZATION	Name of Commander.	Date of Muster.	NUMBER.		Aggregate.
			Commission'd Officers.	Enlisted Men.	
5th Regiment Infantry, . . .	Colonel George H. Pierson, . .	July 28, 1864, .	30	886	916
6th " . . .	" A. S. Follansbee, . .	" 20, " .	36	944	980
8th " . . .	" Benjamin F. Peach, . .	" 26, " .	30	860	890
42d " . . .	" Isaac S. Burrill, . .	" 22, " .	35	906	941
60th " . . .	" Ansel D. Wass, . .	" - " .	30	878	908
15th Unattached Company Infantry, .	Captain Isaac A. Jennings, .	July 29, 1864, .	3	88	91
16th " . . .	" John F. Croff, . .	Aug. 6, " .	3	83	86
17th " . . .	" John G. Barnes, . .	" 5, " .	3	98	101
18th " . . .	" Otis A. Baker, . .	" 6, " .	3	82	85
19th " . . .	" James M. Mason, . .	" 9, " .	3	80	83
20th " . . .	" Lewis Soule, . .	" 11, " .	3	87	90
21st " . . .	" David H. Dyer, . .	" 11, " .	3	98	101
22d " . . .	" John W. Marble, . .	" 18, " .	3	85	88
23d " . . .	" Jabez M. Lyle, . .	" 18, " .	3	98	101
Totals, . . .	. . .	. . .	188	5,273	5,461

[G.]

Statement showing the actual number of Men furnished by Massachusetts for the service of the United States for the several terms of service :

ORGANIZATIONS, TERMS, &c.	Number.	Aggregate.
<i>Three Months' Service, 1861.</i>		
Four (4) regiments Infantry, }	. .	3,736
One (1) battalion Riflemen, }		
One (1) battery Light Artillery, }		
<i>Three Years Men in Army.</i>		
Forty (40) regiments Infantry, }	54,187	
Five (5) regiments Cavalry, }		
Three (3) regiments Heavy Artillery, }		
One (1) battalion Heavy Artillery, }		
Sixteen (16) batteries Light Artillery, }		
Two (2) companies Sharpshooters, }		
Recruits, including drafted men, for above organizations,	26,091	
Men for Regular Army, Veteran Reserve Corps and other organizations,	9,790	
Re-enlistments in State organizations,	6,202	
<i>One Year Men in Army.</i>		
One (1) regiment Infantry, (6 companies,) }	. .	3,099
One (1) regiment Heavy Artillery, }		
Eight (8) unattached Companies, }		
<i>Nine Months Men.</i>		
Seventeen (17) regiments Infantry, . . . . .	. .	16,685
<i>One Hundred Days Men.</i>		
Five (5) regiments Infantry, }	. .	5,461
Nine (9) unattached Companies, }		
<i>Ninety Days Men.</i>		
Thirteen (13) unattached companies Infantry, . . . . .	. .	1,209
<i>Men in Navy.</i>		
Number for one year,	8,074	26,163
" for two years,	3,204	
" for three years,	13,929	
" term not given,	956	
Number enlisted in December, 1864, up to the 22d of the month, . . . . .	. .	863
		153,486

[H.]

*List of Massachusetts Officers who have Died in the Service during the War. **

NAMES.	Rank.	Date.	Remarks.
<i>First Regiment.</i>			
Charles P. Chandler, .	Major, .	June 30, 1862,	Killed, battle of Glendale.
Neill K. Gunn, .	Assist. Surgeon, .	" 3, 1863,	Died, Potomac Creek Hospital, Falmouth, Va.
Charles E. Rand, .	Captain, .	May 2, 1864,	Killed, Chancellorsville, Va.
Moses H. Warren, .	" .	" 12, 1864,	" Spottsylvania, Va.
William H. Sutherland, .	First Lieut., .	June 30, 1862,	" before Richmond, Va.
John M. Mandeville, .	" " .	Aug. 30, " .	" Bull Run, Va.
Henry Hartley, .	" " .	July 2, 1863,	" Gettysburg, Pa.
Elijah B. Gill, Jr., .	Second Lieut., .	" 21, 1861,	" Bull Run, Va.
William H. B. Smith, .	" " .	" 18, " .	" Blackstone Ford, Va.
George Harris, .	" " .	Aug. 30, 1862,	" second Bull Run.
<i>Second Regiment.</i>			
Wilder Dwight, .	Lieut. Colonel, .	Sept. 19, 1862,	Died of wounds received at Antietam, Sept. 17th.
James Savage, Jr., .	" " .	Oct. 22, " .	" " Cedar Mountain, Va.
James Wightman, .	Assist. Surgeon, .	June 15, 1863,	" of disease.
William H. Heath, .	Surgeon, .	Aug. 28, 1864,	" " .
Charles R. Mudge, .	Lieut. Colonel, .	July 3, 1863,	Killed, Gettysburg, Pa.
Edward G. Abbott, .	Captain. .	Aug. 9, 1862,	" Cedar Mountain, Va.
Richard Cary, .	" " .	" 9, " .	" " "
Richard C. Goodwin, .	" " .	" 9, " .	" " "
William B. Williams, .	" " .	" 9, " .	" " "
Thomas R. Robeson, .	" " .	July 3, 1863,	" Gettysburg, Pa.

Thomas B. Fox, .	Captain, .	July 25, 1863,	Died of wounds received at Gettysburg, Va.
Stephen G. Perkins, .	First Lieut., .	Aug. 9, 1862,	Killed, Cedar Mountain, Va.
William D. Sedgwick, .	" "	" "	" Antietam, on General Sedgwick's Staff.
Gerald Fitzgerald, .	" "	May 3, 1863,	" Chancellorsville, Va.
Henry W. D. Stone, .	Second Lieut., .	July 3, " "	" Gettysburg, Va.
<i>Seventh Regiment.</i>			
Prentiss M. Whiting, .	Captain, .	May 4, 1863,	Died of wounds received at Fredericksburg.
Jesse D. Bullock, .	First Lieut., .	June 25, 1862,	" " Fair Oaks, Va.
Albert A. Tillson, .	" "	May 3, 1863,	Killed, Fredericksburg, Va.
Henry W. Nichols, .	" "	" 12, 1864,	Died of wounds, Spotsylvania, Va.
Pelag Mitchell, .	Second Lieut., .	Aug. 10, 1862,	" "
<i>Ninth Regiment.</i>			
Thomas Cass, .	Colonel, .	July 12, 1862,	Died, in Boston, of wounds received before Richmond.
Robert Peard, .	Lieut. Colonel, .	Jan. 27, " "	" " of disease.
Thomas Mooney, .	First Lieut., Q'r,	Mar. 17, 1863,	Accidentally killed at a hurdle race.
William Madigan, .	Captain, .	June 27, 1862,	Killed, Gaines' Mills, Va.
John Carey, .	" "	" 27, " "	" " " "
Jeremiah O'Neil, .	" "	" 27, " "	" " " "
James E. McCafferty, .	" "	" 27, " "	" " " "
William A. Phelan, .	" "	May 5, 1864,	" Wilderness, Va.
James W. McNamara, .	Captain, .	" "	Died of wounds received at Wilderness, Va., May 5, 1864.
John H. Rafferty, .	First Lieut., .	July 1, 1862,	Killed, Malvern Hill, Va.
Edward McSweeney, .	" "	" 1, " "	" " " "
Richard P. Nugent, .	" "	June 27, " "	" Gaines Mills, Va.
Archibald Simpson, .	" "	May 5, 1864,	" Wilderness, Va.

* This list is made as perfect as the reports furnished at the Commonwealth Head-quarters permit. The correction of any error or omission noticed by the reader, will be gladly received, and the information used in a subsequent edition.

List of Massachusetts Officers—Continued.

NAMES.	Rank.	Date.	Remarks.
<i>Ninth Regiment.</i>			
Nicholas C. Flaherty, .	First Lieut.,	May 5, 1864,	Killed, Wilderness, Va.
Francis O'Dowd, .	Second Lieut.,	June 27, 1862,	" Gaines Mills, Va.
Charles B. McGinniskin, .	" "	Sept. 17, 1863,	Died of wounds received at Wilderness, Va., May 5, 1864.
Philip E. Redmond, .	" "	May 9, 1864,	" in Hospital at Washington, D. C.
James O'Neil, .	" "		Killed, Wilderness, Va.
<i>Tenth Regiment.</i>			
Dexter F. Parker, .	Major,	" "	Died of wounds received May 12, 1864.
Ozro Miller, .	" "	" "	Deceased.
Elisha Smart, .	Captain,	May 31, 1862,	Killed, Seven Pines, Va.
Edwin E. Day, .	" "	" 31, "	" " "
James H. Wetherell, .	" "	June 20, 1864,	Died.
William A. Ashley, .	First Lieut.,	May 5, 1864,	Killed, Wilderness, Va.
Edwin B. Bartlett, .	" "	" 18, "	" Spottsylvania, Va.
Alanson E. Munyan, .	" "	" 21, "	Died of wounds received at Wilderness, Va.
George F. Polley, .	" "	" "	Killed.
Benjamin F. Leland, .	Second Lieut.,	" 31, 1862,	" Seven Pines, Va.
N. P. A. Blair, .	" "	July 11, 1862,	Died at Harrison's Landing, Va.
Alfred E. Midgley, .	" "	" "	" of wounds received at Wilderness, Va., May 5, 1864.
<i>Eleventh Regiment.</i>			
William Blaisdell, .	Colonel,	June 23, 1864,	Killed before Petersburg, Va.
George F. Tilston, .	Lieut. Colonel,	Aug. 29, 1862,	" Bull Run.
Luther V. Bell, .	Surgeon, .	" "	Died in line of duty.

Benjamin Stone, Jr.,	•	Captain,	•	Sept. 10, 1862,	Died of wounds received at Bull Run.
Albert M. Gammell,	•	"	•	Dec. 17, 1863,	Killed at Charlestown, Mass., run over by railroad car.
David A. Granger,	•	"	•	Oct. 27, 1864,	Left on field, supposed dead, Petersburg, Va.
Alexander McTavish,	•	"	•	" 27, "	Killed, Petersburg, Va.
Peter T. Goldie,	•	First Lieut.,	•	Sept. 13, "	Died of wounds.
Thomas G. Bowden,	•	"	•	July 21, 1861,	" Bull Run, Va.
Alonzo Coy,	•	"	•	" 29, 1862,	" Bull Run, Va.
William R. Porter,	•	"	•	May 3, 1863,	" of wounds.
John Munn,	•	"	•	" 3, "	" " Chancellorsville, Va.
John S. Harris,	•	"	•	" 3, "	" of disease.
William B. Morrill,	•	"	•	July 30, 1863,	" at Mass. General Hospital, Boston.
William B. Mitchell,	•	Second Lieut.,	•		
<i>Twelfth Regiment.</i>					
Fletcher Webster,	•	Colonel,	•	Aug. 30, 1862,	Killed, Bull Run, Va.
Elisba M. Burbank,	•	Major,	•	Nov. 29, "	Died of wounds received at Antietam, Md.
Albert A. Kendall,	•	Assist. Surgeon,	•	Sept. 17, "	Killed at Antietam, Md.
David Allen, Jr.,	•	Lieut. Colonel,	•	May 5, 1864,	" Wilderness, Va.
Richard H. Kimball,	•	Captain,	•	Aug. 30, 1862,	" Bull Run, Va.
Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, Jr.,	•	Captain,	•	Aug. 9, 1862,	Killed, Cedar Mountain, Va.
John Ripley,	•	"	•		Died of wounds.
John S. Stoddard,	•	"	•	May 10, 1864,	Killed, Spottsylvania, Va.
Wm. G. White,	•	First Lieut.,	•	Sept. 17, "	Died of wounds received at Antietam, Md.
Arthur Dehon,	•	"	•	Dec. 13, 1862,	Killed, Fredericksburg, Va.
Lysander F. Cushing,	•	"	•	Sept. 17, "	" Antietam, Md.
Francis Thomas,	•	"	•	July 2, 1864,	" Gettysburg, Pa.
Charles G. Russell,	•	"	•	" 2, "	" "
William Robinson,	•	"	•	May 14, "	Died of wounds, received at Spottsylvania, Va.
David B. Burrill,	•	"	•	" 24, "	Killed, North Anna River, Va.
George W. Orne,	•	Second Lieut.,	•	" "	Died of wounds received in action.
Edward J. Kidder,	•	"	•	" 10, "	Killed.

List of Massachusetts Officers—Continued.

NAMES.	Rank.	Date.	Remarks.
<i>Thirteenth Regiment.</i>			
George Bush, . . .	Captain, . . .	April 30, 1863,	Killed, by shell, Fitz Hugh House, Va.
Charles W. Whitcomb, . . .	First Lieut., . . .	May 8, 1864,	" Wilderness, Va.
Josiah H. Steward, . . .	" " . . .	" 10, "	Died of wounds, Wilderness, Va.
Wm. Cordwell, . . .	Second Lieut., . . .	April 30, 1863,	Killed, by shell, Fitz Hugh House, Va.
<i>Fifteenth Regiment.</i>			
George H. Ward, . . .	Colonel, . . .	July 2, "	Killed, Gettysburg, Pa.
Samuel F. Haven, Jr., . . .	Surgeon, . . .	Dec. 13, .	" Fredericksburg, Va.
Clarke S. Simonds, . . .	Captain, . . .	Sept. 17, 1861,	" Antietam, Md.
Moses W. Gatchell, . . .	" " . . .	Oct. 21, 1862,	" Ball's Bluff, Va.
John Murkland, . . .	" " . . .	July 2, 1863,	" Gettysburg, Pa.
Hans P. Jorgenson, . . .	" " . . .	" 2, "	" "
Charles H. Stevens, . . .	" " . . .	Oct. 15, "	Died of wounds received at Manassas Junction, Oct. 14, 1863.
Nelson Bartholomew, . . .	First Lieut., . . .	Nov. 21, 1861,	" in Philadelphia, Pa.
Richard Derby, . . .	" " . . .	Sept. 17, 1862,	Killed, Antietam, Md.
Thomas J. Spurr, . . .	" " . . .	" 27, "	Died of wounds received at Antietam, Md.
Frank S. Corbin, . . .	" " . . .	" 17, "	Killed, Antietam, Md.
Elisha G. Buss, . . .	" " . . .	" " . . .	Died of wounds received at Gettysburg, Pa., July 2, 1863.
Dwight Newbury, . . .	" " . . .	Nov. 27, 1863,	" " " Robertson's Tavern, Va.
George B. Simonds, . . .	" " . . .	May 10, 1864,	Killed, Spottsylvania, Va.
J. William Grout, . . .	Second Lieut., . . .	Oct. 21, 1861,	" Ball's Bluff, Va.
Caleb H. Arnold, . . .	" " . . .	July 20, 1863,	Died of wounds received at Gettysburg, Pa.
<i>Sixteenth Regiment.</i>			
Powell T. Wyman, . . .	Colonel, . . .	June 30, 1863,	Killed, Glendale, Va.

Arthur B. Fuller,	Chaplain,	Dec. 12, 1862,	Killed, Fredericksburg, Va.
Waldo Merriam,	Lieut. Colonel,	May 12, 1864,	" Spottsylvania, Va.
Leander G. King,	Captain,	July 2, 1863,	" Gettysburg, Pa.
Charles R. Johnson,	"	July 17, "	Died of wounds received at Gettysburg, Pa.
Alexander J. Dallas,	"	May 3, "	Killed, Chancellorsville, Va.
David W. Roche,	"	July 3, "	" Gettysburg, Pa.
Joseph S. Hills,	"	May 6, "	" Wilderness, Va.
John Rowe,	"	"	Died of wounds received May 31, 1864.
James R. Darracott,	First Lieut.,	Aug. 29, 1862,	Killed, Bull Run, Va.
Francis P. H. Rogers,	"	June 18, "	" Fair Oaks, Va.
George F. Brown,	"	July 3, 1863,	" Gettysburg, Pa.
John H. Woodfin,	"	May 6, 1864,	" Wilderness, Va.
James E. Sharp,	Second Lieut.,	Mar. 20, 1863,	" on Railroad, at Kingston, R. I.
Hiram B. Banks,	"	Aug. 29, 1862,	" Bull Run, Va.
George S. Evans,	"	Nov. 11, "	Died.
Hiram Rowe,	"	May 10, 1863,	" of wounds received at Chancellorsville, Va., May 3, 1863.
Samuel G. Savage,	"	" 11, "	" "
<i>Seventeenth Regiment.</i>			
Thomas J. C. Amory,	Colonel,	Oct. 7, 1864,	" of yellow fever, at Newbern, N. C.
Levi P. Thompson,	Captain,	Sept. 20, 1862,	" of disease.
Barnabas N. Mann,	First Lieut.,	Oct. 8, 1864,	" at Charleston, S. C.,—Rebel Prison.
George W. Tufts,	"	" 27, 1861,	"
<i>Eighteenth Regiment.</i>			
George C. Ruby,	Captain,	Dec. 13, 1862,	Killed, Fredericksburg, Va.
Joseph W. Collingwood,	"	" 24, "	Died of wounds.
Charles W. Carroll,	"	Aug. 30, "	Killed, Bull Run, Va.
William G. Hewins,	"	May 3, 1863,	" Chancellorsville, Va.
Charles F. Fray,	"	June 3, 1864,	" Bethesda Church, Va.

List of Massachusetts Officers—Continued.

NAMES.	Rank.	Date.	Remarks.
<i>Eighteenth Regiment—Con.</i>			
George F. Hodges, . . .	First Lieut., Adj.	Jan. 31, 1862,	Died.
Warren D. Russell, . . .	" "	Aug. 30, "	Killed, Bull Run, Va.
Pardon Alm, Jr., . . .	" "	" 30, "	" "
John Dwight Issbell, . . .	Second Lieut.,	July 16, "	Died.
James B. Hancock, . . .	" "	Dec. 13, "	Killed, Fredericksburg, Va.
George F. Weston, . . .	" "	Jan. 5, 1864,	Died.
<i>Nineteenth Regiment.</i>			
Henry J. How, . . .	Major,	June 30, 1862,	Killed, Fair Oaks, Va.
John E. Hill, . . .	Assist't Surgeon,	Sept. 11, 1862,	Died.
George W. Batchelder, . . .	Captain,	" 17, "	Killed, Antietam, Md.
Dudley C. Mumford, . . .	" "	May 31, 1864,	" Prospect Hill, Va.
David Lee, . . .	First Lieut.,	June 30, 1862,	"
Edgar M. Newcomb, . . .	" "	Dec. 19, "	Died of wounds received at Fredericksburg, Va.
Herman Donath, . . .	" "	July 3, 1863,	Killed, Gettysburg, Pa.
John J. Ferris, . . .	" "	May 12, 1864,	" Spottsylvania, Va.
John B. Thompson, . . .	" "	June 3, "	" Coal Harbor, Va.
Charles B. Warner, . . .	Second Lieut.,	" 25, 1862,	" Fair Oaks, Va.
Thomas Clafley, . . .	" "	Dec. 13, "	" Fredericksburg, Va.
Sherman S. Robinson, . . .	" "	July 3, 1863,	" Gettysburg, Pa.
<i>Twentieth Regiment.</i>			
Edward H. R. Revere, . . .	Assist't Surgeon,	Sept. 17, 1862,	" Antietam, Md.
Ferdinand Dreher, . . .	Lieut. Colonel,	May 1, 1863,	Died of wounds received at Fredericksburg, Va.

Paul J. Revere, .	Colonel,	July 5, 1863,	Died of wounds received at Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Henry L. Abbott,	Major,	May 6, 1864,	Killed, Wilderness, Va.
Henry L. Patten,	"	Sept. 12, "	Died of wounds.
Alois Babo,	Captain,	Oct. 21, 1861,	Drowned at Battle of Ball's Bluff, Va.
Charles F. Cabot,	"	Dec. 11, 1863,	Killed, Fredericksburg, Va.
Thomas M. McKay,	"	Oct. 6, "	Murdered at Camp Culpepper, Va.
James J. Lowell,	First Lieut.,	July 6, 1862,	Killed, before Richmond, Va.
Henry Ropes,	"	" 3, 1863,	" Gettysburg, Pa.
Henry M. Bond,	"	May 14, 1864,	" by guerrillas after being wounded.
Edward Sturgis,	"	" 10, "	" Spottsylvania, Va.
L. E. Hibbard,	"	" 10, "	" " "
Reinhold Wesselhoef,	Second Lieut.,	Oct. 21, 1861,	Drowned at Battle of Ball's Bluff, Va.
William L. Putnam,	"	" 22, "	Died of wounds received at Battle of Ball's Bluff, Va.
Robert S. Beckwith,	"	Dec. 31, 1862,	" " " Fredericksburg, Va.
Leander T. Alley,	"	" 13, "	Killed, Fredericksburg, Va.
Sumner Paine,	"	July 3, 1863,	" Gettysburg, Pa.
<i>Twenty-First Regiment.</i>			
Joseph P. Race,	Lieut. Colonel,	Sept. 1, 1862,	" Chantilly, Va.
John D. Frazer,	Captain,	" 24, "	Died of wounds received at Chantilly, Va., Sept. 1, 1862.
Ira J. Kelton,	"	" 24, "	" " " " " "
William H. Clark,	Captain,	Aug. 16, 1864,	Died of wounds received at Petersburg, Va., July 30, 1864.
Orange S. Sampson,	"	Sept. 30, "	Killed at Petersburg, Va.
Charles Goss,	"	June 17, "	" " "
Charles K. Stoddard,	First Lieut.,	Sept. 30, 1861,	Killed, (shot by a sentinel.)
Frazer A. Stearns,	"	Mar. 14, 1862,	" at Newbern, N. C.
Henry A. Beckwith,	"	Sept. 6, "	Died of wounds received at Chantilly, Va., Sept. 1, 1862.
Frederick A. Bemis,	"	" 1, "	" at Chantilly, Va.
Charles Coolidge,	Second Lieut.,	Mar. 30, "	" from disease.
William B. Hill,	"	Sept. 1, "	Killed at Chantilly, Va.
Henry C. Holbrook,	"	" 17, "	" Antietam, Md.

List of Massachusetts Officers—Continued.

NAMES.	Rank.	Date.	Remarks.
<i>Twenty-Second Regiment.</i>			
Jesse A. Gove, . . .	Colonel,	June 27, 1862,	Killed before Richmond (Gaines' Mills, Va.)
John F. Dunning, . . .	Captain,	" 27, "	" " "
Samuel I. Thompson, . . .	"	Aug. 4, "	Died of wounds received at Malvern Hill, Va.
Benjamin Davis, . . .	"	May 4, "	Killed, Wilderness, Va.
Joseph H. Baxter, . . .	"	"	Died of wounds received June 3, 1864.
Robert T. Bourne, . . .	"	Sept. 23, 1864,	" " "
Thomas F. Salter, . . .	First Lieut.,	June 27, 1862,	Killed, Gaines' Mills, Va.
Horace S. Dunn, . . .	Second Lieut.,	May 22, "	Died.
George W. Gordon, . . .	"	June 27, "	Killed, Gaines' Mills, Va.
Daniel J. Haynes, . . .	"	Oct. 20, "	Died.
Charles K. Knowles, . . .	"	July 11, 1863,	Died of wounds received at Gettysburg, Pa.
<i>Twenty-Third Regiment.</i>			
Henry Merritt, . . .	Lieut. Colonel,	Mar. 14, 1862,	Killed, Newbern, N. C.
John G. Chambers, . . .	"	July 13, 1864,	Died of wounds received at Fort Johnson, Va., May 16, 1864.
Thomas Russell, . . .	Captain,	Dec. 8, 1862,	Died.
Richard P. Wheeler, . . .	First Lieut.,	June 2, 1864,	Died of wounds received at Fort Johnson, Va., May 16, 1864.
John Goodwin, Jr., . . .	Second Lieut.,	Feb. 8, 1862,	Killed, Roanoke Island, N. C.
Westover Greenleaf, . . .	"	Aug. 11, 1862,	Died.
<i>Twenty-Fourth Regiment.</i>			
James A. Perkins, . . .	First Lieut.,	Aug. 26, 1863,	Killed before Charleston, S. C.
Mason A. Rea, . . .	"	May 16, 1864,	"
Nathaniel S. Barstow, . . .	"	" 22, "	Died.

Charles G. Ward,	First Lieut.,	May 16, 1864,	Killed.	
Jesse S. Williams,	"	Aug. 16, "	"	
Edgar Clough,	Second Lieut.,	May 16, 1864,		
Oliver H. Walker,	"	Jan. 3, "	Died of wounds.	
William Thorne,	"	Aug. 20, "	"	received August 17, 1864.
<i>Twenty-Fifth Regiment.</i>				
Thomas O. Neil,	Captain,	June 3,	Killed, Coal Harbor, Va.	
William Daly,	First Lieut.,	" 23,	Died of wounds received at Coal Harbor, Va.,	June 3.
Henry McConville,	" Adj't.,	" 12,	"	"
Henry Matthews,	"	" 3,	Killed, Coal Harbor, Va.	
Charles E. Upton,	"	May 9,	" Harrowfield Church, Va.	
Charles H. Pelton,	Second Lieut.,	June 3,	" Coal Harbor, Va.	
James Graham,	"	" 3,	"	"
<i>Twenty-Sixth Regiment.</i>				
James Monroe,	First Lt. Q. M.,	Nov. 18, 1862,	Died from disease.	
Eusebius S. Clarke,	Major,	Oct. 17, 1864,	" of wounds, received at Winchester, Va.,	Sept. 19, 1864.
Enos W. Thayer,	Captain,	" 10,	"	"
Albert Tilden,	First Lieut.,	" 21,	"	"
John H. P. White,	"	July 10, 1863,	" at New Orleans, La.	
Winfield H. Benham,	"	May 18, "	" of typhoid fever.	Cedar Creek, Va., Oct. 19, 1864.
<i>Twenty-Seventh Regiment.</i>				
Franklin L. Hunt,	Assist't Surgeon,	Nov. 18, 1862,	Killed.	
William A. Walker,	Major,	June 3,	Killed, Coal Harbor, Va.	
Henry A. Hubbard,	Captain,	Feb. 12, "	Died from disease, Roanoke Island, N. C.	
Charles D. Sanford,	"	May 16, "	Killed, Fort Darling, Va.	
Edward K. Wilcox,	"	June 3,	" Coal Harbor, Va.	
Frederick C. Wright,	First Lieut.,	" 27,	Died of wounds received at Coal Harbor, Va.,	June 6, 1864.

List of Massachusetts Officers—Continued.

NAMES.	Rank.	Date.	Remarks.
<i>Twenty-Seventh Regiment.</i>			
Edward D. Lee, .	First Lieut.,	April 17, 1864,	Died.
Cyrus W. Goodale, .	" "	Oct. 30, 1863,	"
Pliny Wood, .	" "	May 13, 1864,	Died of wounds received at Arrowfield Church, Va.
Joseph W. Lawton, .	Second Lieut.,	Mich 14, 1862,	Killed, Newbern, N. C.
Samuel Morse, .	" "	June 3, 1864,	" Coal Harbor, Va.
Edgar H. Coombs, .	" "	" 3,	" " "
<i>Twenty-Eighth Regiment.</i>			
Richard Byrnes, .	Colonel,	June 12, 1864,	Died of wounds received June 3, 1864.
Andrew J. Lawler, .	Major,	May 18, " "	Killed, Spottsylvania, Va.
James Magner, .	Captain,	" 18, " "	" " "
Charles P. Smith, .	" "	" 19, " "	Died of wounds received at Wilderness, Va., May 6.
James A. McIntyre, .	" "	" 5, " "	Killed, Wilderness, Va.
William F. Cochrane, .	Captain,	May 30, 1864,	Died of wounds received at Spottsylvania, Va., May 18.
Patrick Nolan, .	" "	Aug. 14, " "	Killed, Deep Bottom, Va.
James B. West, .	First Lieut.,	June 3, 1862,	" Coal Harbor, Va.
Hugh P. Boyle, .	" "	May 31, " "	Died from disease at Hilton Head, S. C.
William H. Flynn, .	Second Lieut.,	Sept. 1, " "	Killed, Chantilly, Va.
Nicholas J. Barrett, .	" "	" 17, " "	" Sharpsburg, Md.
Alexander Barrett, .	" "	" 1, " "	" Chantilly, Va.
Edwin J. Weller, .	" "	Dec. 13, " "	" Fredericksburg, Va.
William Holland, .	" "	" 13, 1862,	Killed, Fredericksburg, Va.
John Sullivan, .	" "	" 13, 1862,	"

Twenty-Ninth Regiment.

Charles Chipman,	Major,	June 27, 1864,	Died of wounds.
Henry E. Hempstead,	Chaplain,	Dec. 21, 1862,	" " disease at Falmouth, Va.
John B. Collingwood,	First Lieut.,	Aug. 22, 1863,	" " " Cincinnati, Ohio.
Ezra Ripley,	" "	July 28, 1863,	" " " Helena, Ark.
George W. Pope,	" "	Aug. 5, 1864,	Died.
Thomas A. Mayo,	Second Lieut.,	June 27, 1862,	Killed, Gaines' Mills, Va.
Horace A. Jenks,	" "	" "	Dead.
Elisha S. Holbrook,	" "	Aug. 20, 1861,	Dead.

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Thirtieth Regiment.

Daniel L. Yeaton,	Captain,	Nov. 28, 1862,	Died of disease.
Eugene Kelty,	" "	Aug. 5, 1862,	Killed, Baton Rouge, La.
Timothy A. Crowley,	" "	Oct. 5, 1862,	Died of disease.
William F. Clark,	First Lieut. Adj't.	" 21, 1864,	Killed, Cedar Creek, Va.
George F. Whitcomb,	" Lieut.,	" 19, "	" " "
John P. Haley,	Second Lieut.,	Sept. 19, "	" Winchester, Va.

Thirty-First Regiment.

Eben K. Sanborn,	Surgeon,	April 3, 1862,	Died of disease, at Ship Island, La.
William W. Rockwell,	Captain,	Dec. 3, 1863,	Died.
F. A. Cook,	First Lieut.,	Aug. 6, "	Died of disease.

Thirty-Second Regiment.

George L. Prescott,	Colonel,	June 19, 1864,	Died of wounds, Petersburg, Va.
Charles A. Dearborn, Jr.,	Captain,	Dec. 13, 1862,	Killed, Fredericksburg, Va.
Robert Hamilton,	" "	July 19, 1864,	Died of wounds, received at Spottsylvania, May 12, 1864.
Nathaniel French, Jr.,	First Lieut.,	Aug. 9, 1862,	Died.
Joseph W. Wheelwright,	Second Lieut.,	Jan. 18, 1863,	"
William H. Barrows,	" "	July 2, "	Killed, Gettysburg, Pa.

List of Massachusetts Officers—Continued.

NAMES.	Rank.	Date.	Remarks.
<i>Thirty-Third Regiment.</i>			
William P. Mudge, .	First Lieut. Adj't.	Oct. 29, 1863,	Killed, Lookout Mountain.
Henry J. Parker, .	" Lieut.,	May 15, 1864,	"
Edgar L. Bumpus, .	" "	" "	"
Arthur C. Parker, .	" "	"	Captured by guerrillas in Aug. 1863, probably killed.
Joseph P. Burrage, .	Second Lieut.,	Oct. 29, 1863,	Killed, Lookout Mountain.
James Hill, .	" "	" 29, "	"
Oswego Jones, .	" "	" 29, "	"
<i>Thirty-Fourth Regiment.</i>			
George D. Wells, .	Colonel,	Oct. 13, 1864,	Killed, Stickney's Farm, Va.
Harrison W. Pratt, .	Major,	Sept. 25, "	Died of wounds received at Cedar Creek, Va.
George W. Thompson, .	Captain,	" 19, "	Killed, Winchester, Va.
William B. Bacon, .	" "	May 15, "	Died.
Samuel F. Woods, .	First Lieut.,	June 26, "	Died of wounds.
Albert C. Walker, .	" "	Aug. 23, "	" "
James Dempsey, .	" "	" "	" "
Malcolm Annidown, .	Second Lieut.,	"	Died in hands of the enemy.
Robert W. Walker, .	" "	May 15, 1864,	" of wounds.
<i>Thirty-Fifth Regiment.</i>			
Sidney Willard, .	Major,	Dec. 13, 1862,	Killed, Fredericksburg, Va.
Edward G. Park, .	" "	Aug. 14, 1864,	Died of wounds.
Albert W. Bartlett, .	Captain,	Sept. 17, 1862,	Killed, Antietam, Md.
Horace Niles, .	" "	" 20, "	Died of wounds received at Antietam, Md.

J. Wilson Ingell,	•	Captain,	•	Aug. 21, 1864,	Killed, Petersburg, Va.
William Palmer,	•	First Lieut.,	•	Oct. 13, 1862,	Died of wounds.
William Hill,	•	"	•	Dec. 13, " "	Killed, Fredericksburg, Va.
Samuel G. Berry,	•	"	•	July 30, 1864,	" Petersburg, Va.
Charles F. Williams, Jr.,	•	Second Lieut.,	•	Sept. 22, 1862,	Died of wounds.
Massena B. Hawes,	•	"	•	July 7, 1863,	Killed by the falling of a tree upon him.
<i>Thirty-Sixth Regiment.</i>					
Christopher S. Hastings,	•	Captain,	•	Sept. 8, " "	Died, Mound City Hospital, Ill.
Amos Buffum,	•	"	•	May 18, 1864,	Killed, Spotsylvania, Va.
S. Henry Bailey,	•	"	•	" 12, " "	" "
Otis W. Holmes,	•	"	•	June 23, " "	Died, Harewood Hospital, Washington, D. C.
P. Marion Holmes,	•	First Lieut.,	•	Nov. 16, 1863,	Killed, Campbell's Station, Ky.
Henry W. Daniels,	•	"	•	May 12, 1864,	" Spotsylvania, Va.
Frederick H. Sibley,	•	"	•	Aug. 17, 1863,	Died in hospital.
William L. Howe,	•	Second Lieut.,	•	July 7, 1863,	" at Milldale, Miss., (smallpox.)
<i>Thirty-Seventh Regiment.</i>					
Joshua J. Ellis,	•	Assist't Surgeon,	•	May 14, 1864,	" Newport, R. I.
Franklin W. Pease,	•	Captain,	•	" 14, " "	" of wounds received at Spotsylvania, Va., May 12, 1864.
Algernon S. Flagg,	•	"	•	Oct. 6, " "	" of wounds.
Charles S. Bardwell,	•	First Lieut.,	•	May 12, 1864,	" at Winchester, Va.
George E. Cooke,	•	Second Lieut.,	•	" 23, " "	Died.
Joseph Follansbee,	•	"	•		"
<i>Thirty-Eighth Regiment.</i>					
William L. Rodman,	•	Lieut. Colonel,	•	" 27, 1863,	Killed, Port Hudson, La.
Samuel Gault,	•	Captain,	•	April 13, " "	" Bisland, Bayou Teche, La.
Julius M. Lothrop,	•	"	•	" 26, 1864,	Died of wounds received at Cane River, La.
Joseph E. Simmons,	•	First Lieut.,	•	Aug. 30, 1862,	Killed while in 18th Regiment, never joined 38th.
Frederick Holmes,	•	Second Lieut.,	•	June 14, 1863,	" Port Hudson, La.

List of Massachusetts Officers—Continued.

NAMES.	Rank.	Date.	Remarks.
<i>Thirty-Ninth Regiment.</i>			
P. Stearns Davis, .	Colonel, .	July 11, 1864,	Killed, Petersburg, Va.
Wm. T. Spear, .	First Lieut., .	Aug. 18, "	" Reams Station, Va.
Bartlett Shaw, .	Second Lieut., .	" 30, 1862,	" while in 18th Regiment, never joined 39th.
<i>Fortieth Regiment.</i>			
George E. Marshall, .	Lieut. Colonel,	June 1, "	" Old Church, Va.
George C. Bancroft, .	First Lieut., .	" 1, "	" "
Edward Carleton, .	" "	" 3, "	" Coal Harbor, Va.
J. Arthur Fitch, .	" "	Sept. 30, "	" Chapin's Farm, Va.
A. F. Webb, .	Second Lieut., .	" 7, 1863,	" at siege of Fort Wagner, S. C.
<i>Fifty-Fourth Regiment.</i>			
Robert G. Shaw, .	Colonel, .	July 18, "	" Fort Wagner, S. C.
William H. Simpkins, .	Captain, .	" 18, "	" "
Cabot J. Russell, .	" "	" 18, "	" "
David Reid, .	First Lieut., .	Nov. 30, 1864,	" Charleston and Savannah Railroad.
<i>Fifty-Fifth Regiment.</i>			
William D. Crane, .	Captain, .	" 30, "	" "
Dennis H. Jones, .	First Lieut., .	Mar. 23, "	" accidentally, Yellow Bluff, Florida.
Winthrop P. Boynton, .	" "	Nov. 30, "	" Charleston and Savannah Railroad.
William B. Phinney, .	Second Lieut., .	Aug. 16, "	" "
Leonard C. Alden, .	" "	Oct. 5, 1863,	Died of yellow fever, at Hilton Head, S. C.
Edwin R. Hill, .	First Lieut., .	Dec. 9, "	Killed, Devereux's Neck, S. C.

Fifty-Sixth Regiment.

Charles E. Griswold, .	Colonel, .	May 6, 1863,	Killed, Wilderness, Va.
Wallace A. Putnam, .	Major, .	. . . . .	Died of wounds at Stoughton, Mass.
John D. Priest, . . .	First Lieut.,	June 22, 1864,	Killed, Petersburg, Va.
John H. Crowley, . .	Second Lieut.,	" 17, "	" "

Fifty-Seventh Regiment.

Charles L. Chandler, .	Lieut. Colonel,	May 24, "	Killed.
Albert Prescott, . .	Major, .	July 30, "	"
Joseph W. Gird, . .	Captain, .	May 26, "	"
George H. Howe, . .	" "	July 30, "	"
Edson T. Dresser, . .	" "	" 30, "	"
Samuel M. Bowman, .	First Lieut.,	. . . . .	"
E. Dexter Cheney, .	" "	. . . . .	"
Edward I. Coe, . . .	Second Lieut.,	June 17, 1864,	"
James M. Childs, . .	" "	. . . . .	"

Fifty-Eighth Regiment.

Barnabas Ewer, Jr., .	Major, .	June, 1864,	Killed.
Charles M. Upham, .	Captain, .	" "	"
Thomas McFarland, .	" "	" "	"
William H. Harley, .	First Lieut.,	May 12, 1864,	Spottsylvania, Va.
Clement Granet, . .	" "	July 30, "	Petersburg Mine, Va.
F. Gilbert Ogden, . .	" "	May 12, "	Spottsylvania, Va.
William H. Burbank, .	" "	June 11, "	Died of wounds.
Franklin D. Hammond,	Second Lieut.,	. . . . .	Killed.
Samuel J. Watson, . .	" "	. . . . .	Died.
John W. Fiske, . . .	" "	Sept. 30, 1864,	Killed, Poplar Spring Church, Va.

List of Massachusetts Officers—Continued.

NAMES.	Rank.	Date.	Remarks.
<i>Fifty-Ninth Regiment.</i>			
Jacob P. Gould, . . .	Colonel, . . .	. . .	Died of wounds received before Petersburg.
John Hodges, Jr., . . .	Lieut. Col., . . .	Aug. 3, 1864, . . .	Killed, Petersburg, Va.
Lewis E. Munroe, . . .	Captain, . . .	. . .	"
Samuel A. Bean, . . .	" . . .	. . .	Died of wounds.
Horace M. Warren, . . .	First Lieut., . . .	. . .	" "
George J. Morse, . . .	" . . .	. . .	Killed.
George C. Burrill, . . .	" . . .	. . .	"
<i>First Heavy Artillery.</i>			
Seth S. Buxton, . . .	Major, . . .	Jan. 15, 1863, . . .	Died of disease.
Frank A. Rolfe, . . .	" . . .	May 19, 1864, . . .	Killed at Spottsylvania, Va.
Joseph W. Kimball, . . .	Captain, . . .	June 22, " . . .	Killed, Petersburg, Va.
Albert A. Davis, . . .	" . . .	June 21, " . . .	Died of wounds received at Nye River, Va., May 19, 1864.
William G. Thompson, . . .	" . . .	May 20, " . . .	" " " " Petersburg, Va.
Lewis P. Caldwell, . . .	First Lieut., . . .	June 16, " . . .	" " " " " "
Edward Graham, . . .	" . . .	May 19, " . . .	Killed, Nye River, Va.
Charles Carroll, . . .	" . . .	May 30, " . . .	Died of wounds received Nye River, Va., May 19, 1864.
Howard Carroll, . . .	Second Lieut., . . .	Sept. 23, 1862, . . .	Died.
Orrin L. Farnham, . . .	" . . .	June 17, 1864, . . .	" of wounds received at Petersburg, Va.
<i>Second Heavy Artillery.</i>			
Henry T. Lawson, . . .	Major, . . .	Oct. 1, 1864, . . .	Died of yellow fever.
Dixie C. Hoyt, . . .	Asst. Surg., . . .	Nov. 1, " . . .	" " " "
Fordyce A. Dyer, . . .	First Lieut. . .	Oct. 26, " . . .	" " " "

Benjamin A. Shaw, .	First Lieut., .	July 26, 1864,	Died of typhoid fever.
<i>First Cavalry.</i>			
Lucius M. Sargent, Jr.,	Lieut. Colonel,	Dec. 9, 1864,	Killed, Weldon Railroad, Bellfield, Va.
Nathaniel Bowditch, .	First Lieut.,	May 20, 1863,	Died of wounds.
Alton E. Phillips,	" "	" 4, "	" "
William W. Wardwell,	" "	" 28, 1864,	Killed.
Elijah P. Hopkins, .	" "	June,	" "
<i>Second Cavalry.</i>			
Charles R. Lowell, Jr.,	Colonel,	Oct. 21, "	Died of wounds received at Cedar Creek, Va.
J. Sewall Read,	Captain,	Feb. 22, "	Killed.
Charles S. Eigenbrodt,	" "	Aug. 25, "	" Halltown, Va.
Rufus W. Smith,	" "	Oct. 19, "	" "
Goodwin A. Stone,	" "	July 18, "	Died.
Charles E. Meader,	First Lieut.,	Aug. 26, "	Killed, Halltown, Va.
William S. Wells,	Second Lieut.,	July 26, 1863,	Died.
Edward B. Mason,	" "	Sept. 14, "	" at Readville, Mass.
<i>Third Cavalry.</i>			
H. A. Durivage,	Captain,	April 23, 1862,	Drowned in Mississippi River.
Pickering D. Allen,	First Lieut.,	June 2, 1863,	"
Solon A. Perkins,	" "	" "	Killed.
Charles J. Batchelder,	" "	Sept. 9, 1862,	Died at St. James Hospital, New Orleans.
Jasper A. Glidden,	Second Lieut.,	" 19, 1864,	Killed.
John F. Poole,	" "	" 19, "	" "
Lyman James, .	" "	" "	Died.
<i>Fourth Cavalry.</i>			
Orson A. Baxter,	First Lieut.,	Nov. 15, 1864,	Died.
John L. Perley,	" "	" "	Died of yellow fever.

List of Massachusetts Officers—Concluded.

NAMES.	Rank.	Date.	Remarks.
<i>Third Battery, L. A.</i> Caleb C. E. Mortimer, .	First Lieut.,	July 25, 1862,	Died of wounds received at Gaines' Mills, Va.
<i>Fifth Battery, L. A.</i> Peleg W. Blake, .	"	June 18, 1864,	Killed.
<i>Sixth Battery, L. A.</i> Charles C. Cram, .	Second Lieut.,	Oct. 11, 1863,	Died of disease.
<i>Seventh Battery, L. A.</i> George F. Critchett, .	"	" 30, "	Died of disease.
<i>Ninth Battery, L. A.</i> Christopher Erickson, Alexander H. Whitaker, .	First Lieut., "	July 2, " " 20, "	Killed, Gettysburg, Pa. Died of wounds received at Gettysburg, Pa.
<i>Tenth Battery, L. A.</i> Henry H. Granger, .	"	Oct. 30, 1864,	" " " " " Petersburg, Va.
<i>First Sharp Shooters.</i> John Saunders, . William Berry, . Samuel G. Gilbreth, .	Captain, . First Lieut., "	Sept. 17, 1862, " 17, "	Killed, Antietam, Md. " " " " " Petersburg, Va.
<i>Sixth Regiment.</i> Edward D. Sawtelle, .	Second Lieut.,	Jan'y 30, 1863,	" " " " " Blackwater, Va.

Robert G. Barr, . . .	Second Lieut., .	Dec. 12, 1862.	Killed, Tanner's Ford, Va.
<i>Forty-Second Regiment.</i>			
Ariel J. Cummings, .	Surgeon, .	. . .	Died in prison, Houston, Texas.
Benjamin F. Bartlett, .	Second Lieut., .	. . .	"
<i>Forty-Fourth Regiment.</i>			
Robert Ware, . . .	Surgeon, .	April 10, 1863.	Died of disease, Newbern, N. C.
<i>Forty-Eighth Regiment.</i>			
James O'Brien, . . .	Lieut. Colonel, .	May 27, "	Killed, Port Hudson, La.
<i>Forty-Ninth Regiment.</i>			
Burton D. Demming, .	First Lieut., .	" "	"
<i>Fiftieth Regiment.</i>			
Nathaniel W. French, .	Asst't Surgeon, .	April 21, "	Died of typhoid fever.
<i>Fifty-Third Regiment.</i>			
George H. Bailey, . .	Captain, .	May 27, "	Died of wounds received at Port Hudson, La.
George P. Nutting, .	First Lieut., .	April 13, "	Killed, Teche, La.
Alfred A. Glover, . .	" "	June 14, "	" Port Hudson, La.
Josiah H. Vose, . . .	" "	June 16, "	Died of wounds received at Port Hudson, June 14.

The General Officers of the army from Massachusetts are—

Major-General	B. F. Butler.
"	" N. P. Banks.
"	" D. W. Couch, wounded.
"	" A. W. Whipple, Major of Engineers Regular Army, killed at Chancellorsville.
"	" George C. Strong, killed at Fort Wagner.
"	" J. G. Barnard, U. S. Engineer Corps.
Brev't Maj.	" N. H. Miles, wounded.
Brigadier-General	H. S. Briggs, wounded.
"	" James Barnes, wounded.
"	" Rufus Saxton, Captain Regular Army.
"	" Rice, killed.
"	" Joseph B. Plummer, died of wounds.
"	" Charles Devens, wounded in two battles.
"	" George H. Gordon.
"	" A. B. Underwood, wounded.
"	" Edward A. Wild, wounded in two battles.
"	" William Dwight, wounded.
"	" Henry L. Eustis.
"	" Edward W. Hinks, wounded.
"	" Thomas G. Stevenson, killed.
"	" Joseph Hayes, wounded.
"	" George L. Andrews.
"	" Frederick W. Lander, died of wounds.
"	" Z. B. Tower, wounded.
"	" William Blaisdell, killed.
"	" Charles J. Paine, wounded.
"	" William F. Bartlett, wounded in three battles.
Brev't Brig.	" Charles R. Lowell, Jr., killed.
"	" George D. Wells, killed.
"	" Horace B. Sargent, wounded.
"	" George N. Macy, wounded in two battles.
"	" William S. Tilton, wounded.
"	" N. B. McLaughlin, Captain Regular Army.
"	" G. V. Henry, Captain Regular Army.
"	" A. G. Draper.

Of this list of *thirty-five* Massachusetts General Officers, *nine* have been killed or fatally wounded in action, while *sixteen* more who have fallen in battle survive their wounds. Only *ten* have escaped injury.

REGIMENTS.	Colonels.	Lt. Colonels.	Majors.	Surgeons.	Assistant-Surgeons.	Chaplains.	Captains.	First Lieutenants.	Second Lieutenants.
First,	-	-	1	-	1	-	2	3	3
Second,	-	3	-	1	1	-	6	3	1
Seventh,	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	3	1
Ninth,	1	1	-	-	-	-	6	4	4
Tenth,	-	-	2	-	-	-	3	4	3
Eleventh,	1	1	-	1	-	-	4	7	1
Twelfth,	1	1	1	-	1	-	4	7	2
Thirteenth,	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	1
Fifteenth,	1	-	-	1	-	-	5	7	2
Sixteenth,	1	1	-	-	-	1	6	4	5
Seventeenth,	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	-
Eighteenth,	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	2	4
Nineteenth,	-	-	1	-	1	-	2	5	3
Twentieth,	1	1	2	-	1	-	3	5	5
Twenty-First,	-	1	-	-	-	-	5	4	3
Twenty-Second,	1	-	-	-	-	-	5	1	4
Twenty-Third,	-	2	-	-	-	-	1	1	2
Twenty-Fourth,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	3
Twenty-Fifth,	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	4	2
Twenty-Sixth,	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	4	-
Twenty-Seventh,	-	-	1	-	1	-	3	4	3
Twenty-Eighth,	1	-	1	-	-	-	5	2	6
Twenty-Ninth,	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	3	3
Thirtieth,	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	2	1
Thirty-First,	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	1	-
Thirty-Second,	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	2
Thirty-Third,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	3
Thirty-Fourth,	1	-	1	-	-	-	2	3	2
Thirty-Fifth,	-	-	2	-	-	-	3	3	2
Thirty-Sixth,	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	3	1
Thirty-Seventh,	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	1	2
Thirty-Eighth,	-	1	-	-	-	-	2	1	1
Thirty-Ninth,	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Fortieth,	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	3	1
Forty-Second,	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Forty-Fourth,	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Forty-Eighth,	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Forty-Ninth,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Fiftieth,	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Fifty-Third,	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	3	-
Fifty-Fourth,	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	-
Fifty-Fifth,	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	3	2
Fifty-Sixth,	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	1
Fifty-Seventh,	-	1	1	-	-	-	3	2	2
Fifty-Eighth,	-	-	1	-	-	-	3	3	3
Fifty-Ninth,	1	1	-	-	-	-	2	3	-

REGIMENTS.	Colonels.	Lt. Colonels.	Majors.	Surgeons.	Assistant-Surgeons.	Chaplains.	Captains.	First Lieutenants.	Second Lieutenants.
First Heavy Artillery, .	-	-	2	-	-	-	3	3	2
Second " " .	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	2	-
First Cavalry, .	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	4	-
Second " " .	1	-	-	-	-	-	4	1	2
Third " " .	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	3	3
Fourth " " .	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-
Third Light Artillery, .	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Fifth " " .	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Sixth " " .	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Seventh " " .	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Ninth " " .	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-
Tenth " " .	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
First Sharpshooters, .	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	-
	16	17	20	6	9	2	110	150	95

SUMMARY.

General Officers,	9
Colonels,	16
Lieutenant-Colonels,	17
Majors,	20
Surgeons,	6
Assistant-Surgeons,	9
Chaplains,	2
Captains,	110
First Lieutenants,	150
Second Lieutenants,	95
	434

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW

AND

"LIFE AND TIMES OF JOHN HUSS."

Some, at least, of the readers of the *North American Review* for July, 1865, will readily recall the surprise with which they perused in the "Critical Notices" a somewhat extended article on Gillett's "Life and Times of John Huss." Although marked as "Second Notice," it was really the *third* article which the review had contained, bearing upon the above-named work. It is natural that some curiosity should be excited as to the causes which led to a course so unusual, and it may be added, so indecorous, as a third assault, in a very bitter spirit, upon the work in question. A knowledge of certain facts, some of which the reviewer has chosen to keep in the background, will serve to satisfy such curiosity, and at the same time prepare the way for a few remarks bearing upon the general subject of American criticism.

The work which has claimed so large a measure of attention was published by Messrs. Gould and Lincoln, of Boston, in October, 1863. The author of it, pastor of a Presbyterian church at Harlem, New York City, had been previously almost unknown in the literary world. He had indeed been a somewhat frequent contributor to the periodical press of the country, some of his articles having been reprinted in England, while others, largely devoted to leading public characters nearly contemporary with John Huss, gave assurance, to those who knew their authorship, of studious preparation for the task which he had in hand. But all of them, without exception, were published anonymously; and so far as any general knowledge of the author's standing or antecedents were concerned, there was nothing to create a prejudice in favor of, or against, the work. Yet it met with a highly favorable reception from the leading reviews and journals of the country. With perhaps a single exception, they spoke of it in terms of high, and in some cases it may be, excessive commendation.

The exception alluded to was that of the *North American Review*. A critic in this periodical signalized the recent change in its editorship by a fierce and bitter onslaught upon the work. It was said to be characterized

by "careless statement and bad writing." It was pronounced discreditable to the author's scholarship and to American letters.

But the commendation which the book had received in other quarters soon arrested the attention of the critic. He saw his own judgment overwhelmingly reversed. Some vindication of himself seemed imperative, but his only possible vindication implied the severest censure upon all who had differed from him. From this, however, he did not shrink, and, with an indecorum for which a precedent must be sought in newspaper controversy, he attempted (July, 1864) to justify his criticism by assailing, specifically and by name, several of the leading reviews and literary journals of the country. Yet the larger portion of those who differed from him, though by implication subjected to the same condemnation, he did not see fit to name. Of all alike, he said, "Their commendation betrays only that the critics knew less than the author, and had not the honesty to say so." He admits that if the author had announced his book "as a compilation from authorities easily accessible," it might have passed on the whole as "a useful contribution to popular information." He thus betrays the fact that the style in which the work was announced (derived from authorities not easily accessible), and not the merits of the work itself, was the basis of his judgment. The author is represented as possessed of more knowledge than his critics, only to administer to the latter a more severe rebuke. "There is," he says, "scarcely a journal in the land which maintains a correct critical standard. It would be surprising, indeed, if newspaper critics generally had sufficient knowledge to give any value to their judgments on the merits of such a work as this." In this sentence the reviewers are all alike included. Not a single exception is made. From the facts of the case none was possible.

Thus the issue was distinctly made. A single critic assumed to himself the monopoly of honesty and ability. His antagonist was no longer an individual author, but the entire literary press of the country. It was arraigned as venal or incompetent, and as too dishonest to confess its ignorance.

Very little notice seems to have been taken of these charges by the assailed parties. They may have thought that the best reply was that due to bad manners—a dignified contempt. But one which the critic had not named, *The American Presbyterian and Theological Review*, unsolicited by the historian, took up the matter, and speaking in the interests of a fair and manly criticism, opened a new chapter in the progress of the affair. It spoke as follows:

It is no pleasant task to call attention to any offence which violates that instinctive sense of propriety which the genuine scholar is proud to cherish. But where such an offence is coupled with the perpetration of a gross wrong, and with such evidence of shallow attainment as to cover with ridicule the claim to superior critical discernment, justice to the public, and to the cause of truth and letters, demands that it be exposed.

The *North American Review* for January, 1864, contained a critical notice of the "Life and Times of John Huss," by E. H. Gillett, which contrasted both in matter and tone with the general verdict of the American press. Some of the ripest and best scholars of the country bestowed upon it high praise, and awarded to its author the meed of commendation due to the successful discharge of a long neglected and laborious task. . . .

Of the criticism of the *N. A. Review* it is said:

It was a literary curiosity. It was unqualified and sweeping in its censure. It recognized no merit in a history which explored a new and unfamiliar field; which brought up out of neglected obscurity some of the most striking portraits of the great actors on the stage of Christendom; which had cost years of patient toil and investigation, and which traced through its successive phases one of the most remarkable religious movements of modern times. It culls the volumes to find a specimen of faulty rhetoric, and parades it, unjustly, as a sample of the work. To complete the list of errors with which it charges the author, it resorts to the miserable expedient of scraping together printer's mistakes, and inferring that these implied ignorance and incapacity on the part of the author. It spoke contemptuously of his authorities, as if they were quite common and easily accessible, when there is not probably a library in the country, with two or three exceptions, which contains more than one half of those named in the Preface. It intimates his ignorance of the German language, probably unaware that his translation of Luther's Commentary on Peter, made from the original issues of the Wittenberg press, had established years ago his reputation for acquaintance with a form of German literature which offers grave difficulties even to such a scholar as the late Prof. Robinson. It dwells upon the repetition of an unimportant date, which chances to have been incorrectly given, as a great offense; and betrays the spirit of its criticism by the mean insinuation that if the work was read carefully, such repetitions might be found to occur a fourth and even a fifth time.

Any one at all familiar with literature knows how difficult it is to secure perfect accuracy in the first edition of an historical work, in spite of all the pains of the author and the vigilance of the proof-reader. Mr. Prescott, in writing to one of his friends with respect to the sending of a copy of his "Ferdinand and Isabella" to England, expressed the hope that it might be the *corrected* edition, as in the first there were, he said, more than *one hundred* errors and inadvertencies, mainly verbal. Now what would have been thought of an editor, aspiring to the post of a critic, who should have studiously collected and arrayed these hundred and more errors, and mixing them up with general condemnation, should have closed by saying: The reader may judge by our criticism what sort of a book Mr. Prescott has written.

The entire "critical" notice never so much as touched the merits of the body of the work. Its comments were limited to incidental matters, which pertained less to the real subject of the volumes than to general church history, with which the author professed no special familiarity. Not a single mistake was noted in the whole story of Huss. . . . Meanwhile other critics had read the work more carefully, if not conscientiously, and had expressed their opinions of it in very decided terms. These critical opinions all singularly agreed in testifying that the author had done his work well and deserved praise for it, and that the "Life and Times of John Huss" would take rank among the standard histories of the world.

A small Circular, which bears the marks of having been struck off from the types used in the newspaper advertisements of the work, seems to have

fallen into the hands of the editors of the *North American*, and by showing them the many and varied critical judgments to which their own stood in solitary contrast, to have ruffled somewhat their composure. So at least we infer from the six pages devoted to this harmless Circular in the July number of their Review. Instead of laying it aside with the indifference of conscious rectitude, or passing it over in silence, they felt called upon to put forth a plea in their own behalf. . . . Instead of frankly admitting their mistake, they chose rather to assail, *en masse*, the critical press of the country, charging it with incompetency, shallowness, and dishonesty or subserviency to the pecuniary interests of publishers. It was a sweeping charge, and if it had been made as specific as honest dealing with the Circular demanded, it would have appeared even more ridiculous than it does now. It shows how keenly the *North American* felt the uncomfortableness of its position. It assails the critical competency of such journals as *The Methodist*, the *Christian Intelligencer*, the *New York Examiner*, the *Independent*, the *Theological Eclectic*, the *Christian Examiner*, the *Methodist Quarterly*, and the *Princeton Review*, to name no others. And let it be observed, that a very considerable proportion of the criticism thus sweepingly condemned, was not given in the form of ordinary "book notices," but of elaborate and extended reviews. And it is also noteworthy, that this same Circular contains the judgment of various *other organs* of the critical talent of the country, which are passed over in silence, such as the *New York Observer*, and *Evangelist*, the *Congregationalist*, and *Boston Recorder*, the *American Presbyterian*, and *The Presbyterian*, the *New Englander*, the *Evangelical Quarterly*, the *Congregational Quarterly*, our own REVIEW, which, besides the usual "notice," reviewed it at length, and also the *Bibliotheca Sacra*. It was not convenient to say of these, that they were incompetent to criticise such a work, or that they were the parasites of publishers, or that they had superficially examined and dismissed it with extravagant praise. To all these reviewers, and others, no specific reference is made, and yet by implication they are condemned equally with the rest. The boldness of the critic evidently quailed when he was called, in consistency with himself, to maintain his charges by giving them a specific form.

It happens, singularly enough, that in the *same* number of the *North American* which contained this critical deliverance, there was an elaborate and eulogistic article on the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, in which its *book notices* were specially commended: "*These notices have always borne the marks of conscientious care, and of a catholic taste.*" (See Jan. No., p. 96.) And yet in this same Circular that "conscientious" and painstaking Quarterly renders a most favorable critical verdict for the work so utterly condemned by the *North American*: "The volumes contain not only a memoir of Huss, but a detailed history of the Romish Church for more than a hundred years—a period too comparatively little known. It is a valuable acquisition, therefore, to our church literature; a gift which the religious public will receive with gratitude, and which we hope they will repay by a liberal patronage." And yet in the face of their own strong testimony, and with the critical judgment of this same authority, and the accordant judgment of nearly the entire critical press of the country before them, the *North American* had the consistency and modesty to say: "All this commendation betrays only that the critics knew less than the author, and had not the modesty to say so. . . . It is evident that either the learned conductors of these reviews have an imperfect sense of the responsibility attaching to their office, or have adopted a convenient and meaningless phrase to save themselves from the trouble of conscientious examination and criticism. . . .

It would be far better that there were no criticism, rather than such misleading and ignorant parade of judgment." (July No., pp. 273-4.)

But still more unfortunately for the *North American*, its notice had scarcely gone forth to the world, when from an unexpected quarter, and one where, if we are rightly informed, no publisher's bribe, even in the form of a presentation copy, had found its way, there came forth evidence which makes it conclusively manifest that the "critical" notice had been written by an incompetent hand, and that the charges which the *North American* so freely makes against the reviewers who differed from it in opinion only recoiled upon itself. The editor of the *Moravian*, well known as a contributor to the American edition of Herzog's Real Cyclopedia, in connection with articles on John Huss and Bohemia, and who for years had been preparing himself to become the historian of the church which claims Huss as its founder, took up the work, and with prepossessions far from favorable was led to pronounce upon it a favorable judgment. Familiar with the general subject from its freshest German and Bohemian sources, and from the study of recently discovered MSS. (Lissa folios), some of which he had procured to be transcribed for his own use, he examined the work with scrupulous diligence, and gave the results of his investigations in an article of nearly three columns in the *Moravian* of March 10th last. It was a thorough, able, and scholarly article. It did justice to the work while it noted its mistakes. It stated, at the outset, that the author had been under the necessity of performing his task in the lack of one important authority, Palacky's History of Bohemia—the portions of the work essential to be consulted having been published after the author had begun his task—and that while misled on certain points by authorities which Palacky would have corrected, he had failed to present the just merits of Huss as a reformer in the use of his own native tongue. Yet, while faithfully presenting these defects and minutely specifying them, the *Moravian* bestowed upon the volumes high commendation. It said: "It is evident that single mistakes and occasional misconceptions cannot rob a writer of the reputation which his work as a whole has deservedly given him. And therefore we are happy to add our tribute to that which has been paid to the author on every side." And again: "In spite of such weak points, however, this life of Huss challenges the admiration of the historian, and captivates the general reader. Writing in a graceful and vivid style, and arranging his materials with the skill of a mind that knows how to digest them, the author does not magnify the Bohemian reformer by the aid of wordy repetitions; he rather allows him to present himself in his own greatness, as the austere but bold champion of the truth; and then, with the hand of a master, he groups around him all the principal characters who played their part in the drama of that age. It was a time of extraordinary events. . . . To tell these events; to give a correct insight into their connection and results; to disentangle their mass of many threads, requires the eagle eye, the cool judgment, and yet the warm heart of the true historian; and such Mr. Gillett has shown himself to be. He gives us no frothy declamations, but substantial facts, real developments, sound historical philosophy, and yet he always remains fresh and animating."

Placing thus the criticism of the *North American* by the side of the *Moravian*, the reader sees at a glance that the first was a mere evasion of criticism, while the other met it fairly and with the full consciousness of competent acquaintance with the subject of the volumes. The former never discovered—or certainly it would have given it a place before printer's mistakes—the one main defect of the work; and in naming the authorities cited in the Preface, it did not name even one that was necessary

to complete the list. Not one of the several mistakes—unimportant indeed to ninety-nine out of a hundred readers—which the *Moravian* cited, was mentioned by the *North American*; and the inference is inevitable that the scrutiny which could correct the printer's proof-sheets and not discover the real and chief faults of such an historical work as the "Life and Times of John Huss," is not of a superior order—certainly not critically competent to arraign and condemn the entire fraternity of reviewers. . . . The severe and sweeping charge which it makes against others, is brought home to its own doors.

It is not surprising therefore that the *North American* should seek to disguise the infelicity of its position, or cover the grossness of its assault upon the critical capacity and integrity of the best portion of the American press by a plausible plea in behalf of the rights of literature which it has itself so strangely violated. The cuttle-fish has the well-earned reputation of hiding its own position, as well as concealing itself from its pursuers, by enveloping itself in the inky cloud which it throws out around it when the occasion demands; but when the reason of a man perversely copies the instinct of an animal, there is ground to suspect that the object in view in the first case occupies morally no higher level than in the last. Credulity itself will at length have distrust of cuttle-fish art, when introduced into literature. The question of personal responsibility for arrogant and unjust criticism should not be lost in the platitudes of homilies on the incompetence or venality of the literary press. We, too, have felt the grievance of which the reviewer complains; but we have felt it more deeply, if possible, when the *Life and Writings of Theodore Parker* have been superficially investigated, or Furness's "Veil Partly Lifted and Jesus becoming Visible" has been dealt with as a work of sound historical value, than when some third-rate critic of some third-rate newspaper has classed some third-rate novel alongside the master-pieces of Cooper or Scott. All the eloquent and indignant rhetoric expended on the latter offense by one who has himself incurred the greater criminality, is but a repetition of *his* folly who with the beam in his own eye bids his brother pluck out the mote from his. The critic of the *North American* . . . has used what art and authority he had to condemn a work which he was evidently incompetent to criticise. Long ago John Milton said, "Almost as good kill a man as kill a good book." The *North American* has tried to do the latter, and the failure of its attempt cannot save it from the moral turpitude of the act. The feebleness of its arm cannot atone for the malignity of its will. Had it really possessed the authority which it so arrogantly assumed to exercise, it would have committed a deed the odium of which would have been aggravated by its success. . . . But if the ethics of criticism have any ban to fluninate, they will not spare an offender proved guilty of a gross and wanton assault both upon the personal reputation of one who, to say the least, has deserved well of every student of Christian history, and upon the critical ability and integrity of the host of scholars and editors who have expressed their honest and intelligent judgment in the premises.

The *North American* has really degraded itself in this matter, and forfeited its title to a seat in the Arcopagus of literary criticism. Its first duty is to atone for its wrong by a manly acknowledgment of its error; and then in the practice of that "modesty" which it justly commends, it may with more consistency, and without exposing itself to the charge of hypocrisy, presume to arraign those offenders against the laws of sound criticism before whom it has itself set so perverse an example. "It would be far better"—to borrow its own language—"that there

were no criticism, rather than such misleading and ignorant parade of judgment."

It is not surprising that the critic should have been stung by such a rejoinder. The shallowness of his criticism was exposed to public contempt. Any fair reply was of course impossible ; but silence might be interpreted as a confession of guilt, and if there are times (as Daniel Webster once remarked) when "suicide is confession," there are others when confession is suicide.

But avoiding Scylla, the critic rushed into Charybdis. Prudently avoiding his new and real antagonist, he again sought to change the issue. Opportunely enough (whether by his own explorations, or by the friendly service of others he does not state) "evidence" was "presented" him, on which he flattered himself that he could base the charge of plagiarism against the historian. Cautiously concealing the cause of his new provocation (lest curious readers might be put upon a track which for his own credit he would not have explored), he devoted himself to his task, evidently at the cost of tedious application, which ought at least to give him a better acquaintance with the book than he possessed at the time of the first notice, which admitted that it had been carelessly read.

But his last notice has revealed a degree of ignorant blundering and prejudice for which nothing short of his precious exhibitions of himself could have prepared us. A portion of the press of the country, well-informed enough to judge, and which he will scarcely venture again to pronounce venal or incompetent, has spoken of it in terms of well-merited censure.* It is seen that he has simply made a public confession of his irritation and bad temper. He has shown the feebleness of his arm by the repetition of his blows. He has thrice slain an antagonist that still lives. The ignominious exposure of his present failure must bring him again into the field, and he may be assured of that kind of welcome which is ever extended to those whose restless consciousness of wrong forces them to betray their own secret.

The temper of the critic first invites our attention. The spirit in which a thing is said is often more important than the thing itself. We know at least what to think of it, and what weight to allow it. But the spirit of this critic is too feebly masked to deceive any one. "We have not," he says, "read the book carefully enough to assert that the same statements . . . are not repeated a fourth or even a fifth time." Is this careless reading the qualification for a reviewer who asks respect for his judgment? Does he who assumes to be the model critic of the country commend that style of criticism which his careless reading implies? Yet on this is based an insinuation plainly uncalled for, and simply designed to create a prejudice against the book. Is the insinuation genuine criticism? But, to

* For instance, the *Christian Intelligencer*, *Christian Advocate and Journal*, *N. Y. Evangelist*, *American Presbyterian* and *Watchman and Reflector*.

make the matter worse, the critic confesses that it is mere insinuation. He has not read the book carefully enough to make it anything else. Such "criticism" would be beneath contempt, if the malignity of its prejudices did not lift it to the level of public reprobation.

Again, he says, "his corrections here and there show, to be sure, that he glanced at some of the authorities which he parades in his notes, but we cannot believe that he verified all the details, etc." Is this criticism? Is it not the insinuation of the partisan pleader, rather than the tone of the literary judge? He "cannot believe" plainly because he does not wish to believe. The bias of prejudice is too evident to be mistaken.

Again, he quotes the following parallel passages from Gillett and Bonnechose, in part as proof of plagiarism:

Gillett I. 327.

"The thoughtful observer turns his eyes away from all the pageantry and pomp that allure the senses" (the scene at Constance had been vividly described by the historian) "to the humble dwelling of a poor widow, whom Huss compared to her of Sarepta who received Elijah. In her house the Bohemian Reformer received a welcome refuge if not a secure asylum."

Bonnechose, 52.

"Huss arrived at Constance on Nov. 3d. He put up at the house of a poor widow whom he compared to her of Sarepta who received Elijah. But if she offered him a refuge, she could not assure him an asylum. However, he was not molested for several days."

Without lingering to note the pressure upon the critic when he is prepared to adduce such passages as these in proof of plagiarism, we simply remark the spirit of the language in which they are introduced. He says, "Dr. Gillett adorns his stolen goods with fictitious ornaments." The terms "stolen" and "fictitious" manifest the temper of the critic. The prejudice they imply is as manifest as their injustice.

The historian, in his preface, spoke very properly of the favorable opportunities he had enjoyed of access to original authorities. It is well-known to many, that the Library of the N. Y. Union Theological Seminary is one of the richest (probably without a superior) on this continent, in works bearing on the mediæval and pre-reformation periods. Of this Library the historian had charge for a time, and subsequently enjoyed the privilege of constant access to its treasures. Yet the critic takes repeated occasion to sneer at these opportunities, with the evident design of calling them in question. Is this sneering tone, based on surmise and injustice, the proper tone for a critic—for a model critic—for one who presumes to lay down for others the ethics of criticism? Is it consistent with candor, with decency, or even self-respect? Does it invite our confidence in his honesty or his judgment?

Again, the pertinacity displayed in his third notice (the pertinacity of conscious weakness attempting to evade the real issue he had himself challenged) betrays the critic's resolve to kill a book that had annoyed him.

He is so eager to act the prosecutor, that he not only asks no retaining fee, but sacrifices the dignity of his review, and the decorum of the critic, for the privilege of bringing the charge. His epithets are steeped in venom. When a critic assails an author's character, he must be either in a high state of moral indignation, or under the mastery of passion or prejudice. But any one who has noted the critic's language would smile at the suggestion that he was in any exalted state of virtuous indignation. His phraseology, by its fierceness and its frequency, indicates familiarity with a much lower sphere. "Double fraud," "reckless plagiarist," "guilty of a worse falsehood," "dishonest use," &c. &c., is not the language in such a connection, of any virtuous emotion. The style in which the critic brandishes his tomahawk denotes the kind of warfare he delights in, and the class of combatants to which he belongs.

But the evidence of his bad temper, which might be indefinitely extended, is already more than sufficient. The incompetence with which it is allied should not be overlooked. But the thorough exposure of this by the *American Presbyterian and Theological Review* leaves little more to be done. Yet the critic's last notice is even more damaging to himself in this respect than those notices which preceded it. Of Bonnechose he seems to have had no knowledge at all, till, after a year or more, new "evidence" was "presented" upon which to base his last assault. Even yet he has not discovered, or else he has disingenuously concealed, the real character of Bonnechose's work. He has left the reader to infer that it was to be classed as an original authority. He has not stated, as he should have done if he had been aware of the fact, that Bonnechose did not make many of his own translations, the English translation of which he charges Gillett with having appropriated. He does not state that Bonnechose transferred, sentence by sentence, and paragraph by paragraph, not only documents, but a large part of his own narrative from *L'Enfant*, and this, too, through more than one hundred pages, without giving him credit in a single instance where Huss was spoken of. He thus conceals the fact that his charge lies against Bonnechose rather than Gillett, and that, too, with tenfold force. This statement, which would have exposed the ridiculous nature of his complaint, that Bonnechose was copied from without being credited, was withheld. Why was it withheld? The critic may confess that he lacked the candor to make a statement which would have been so damaging to himself, although in justice required to do so; or he may admit that he did not know enough to make it. He may have all the benefit of the alternative. If he was unwilling, in fairness, to make the statement, he shows himself utterly disqualified, by the bias that vitiates his decision, from exercising the functions of a literary judge; in the other case, he of course admits his incompetence.

We might indeed suspect this incompetence from the very effort visibly made to conceal it. The tone of the critic is that of high assumption. There is a parade, a pretentiousness about his criticism, which to the prac-

tised eye betrays the charlatan. An incompetent critic has no right to assume it, and the genuine critic would scorn to do so. Doubtless he imagines himself more competent than he is. Take, for instance, his charge against Gillett of giving the "incorrect title" of the works of Huss. It seems incredible in this case that he did not believe the truth of his own charge. Of course he considered himself, in making it, competent to do so. Yet he was *not* competent to sustain it. He has stated what is perfectly groundless, with this as his only possible apology that he ignorantly believed it himself. The title is *not* "incorrect." It is transcribed, word and letter, from the title-page of the edition of the *Monumenta* that Gillett used, and which by Darling and others is accounted the best. Darling himself gives the title precisely as Gillett has given it—"Johannis Hus et Hieronymi Pragensis, Confessorum Christi, Historia et Monumenta." Brunet gives it in the same form, with "Confessorum Christi" only omitted. The title of the inferior edition of 1715, which the critic states that he used, is given by Fournier, in precisely the same words, "Johannis Hus et Hieronymi Pragensis Historia et Monumenta."

But as if a statement, unqualifiedly false, and grossly slanderous to the historian, was not enough, the critic crowns it with a gratuitous blunder which borders upon the ludicrous. He says "the *proper* title of the work is 'Historiæ et Monumentorum Johannis Hus atque Hieronymi Pragensis,' &c., &c." Any one who can understand the words, can see at a glance that it is no "proper" or complete title at all. It lacks a nominative. The form in which the critic gives it leads us to surmise that he left out the "*altera pars*" or its equivalent, which might have completed the phrase, but would not have changed the title. Thus in an attempt to display his knowledge, the critic has betrayed his ignorance, and incurred the guilt, in a literary sense, of a double crime, by uttering a groundless slander, and committing an inexcusable blunder. His assumption as a critic only makes it doubly ridiculous.

Criticism from such a source must be utterly untrustworthy. The tedious drudgery which the last "notice" must have cost the critic, only betrays the strength of prejudice and the degree of mortification by which he was goaded to his task. His statement that his previous opinion had been "called in question" was a very gentle phrase, designed to mask over (to the eyes of his readers) one of the most summary and complete retributions in the history of literature, one that excoriated where it did not annihilate. Under the irritation which it produced he took up again the work which he had so summarily dismissed to oblivion and contempt, and of which, it is not to be doubted, that he already sincerely hated the sight. He sought to find some new point of attack. The crushing rejoinder he had provoked taught him not again to defy and insult the entire literary press of the country. But there was still one resource. It had been tried on other occasions. It had been employed against great names and against humble names. It had been used to decry Milton and Bunyan and hosts of others.

The charge of plagiarism is the "mad-dog" cry of literature. By tracing the historian's statements to his authorities, might he not be convicted, if not of having followed them too carelessly, as the critic had before suggested, at least too carefully and closely? The task is undertaken, and the result is that Gillett is found to have made use, in repeated instances, of translations (corrected as the critic admits, in some cases at least, from original authorities) many of which had been taken bodily by Bonnechose from *L'Enfant*, and which had passed as common property into the domain of literature, so as to belong to any author who chose to use them, almost as much as the English translation of Milton's Latin Letters. Concealing this fact, (if even aware of it,) the critic made his pages bristle with citations to prove a point which no one would dispute, but with the evident design to assume the proof of another point by no means so evident. We find in his quoted passages (apart from documents) some eight common-place sentences, which it would be no great acquisition to "steal," identically the same in the two works of Bonnechose and Gillett, together with some thirty more, in which there is a nearer or more remote (generally more remote) resemblance. This is the result given by his quotations of an examination of nearly 1,300 octavo pages, and his citations are taken from the only work in English from which the historian could possibly have borrowed, to any considerable extent.

Our readers may feel, in view of the manifest incompetence and prejudice of the critic, that nothing more need be said, and that it would be for them a superfluous task to accompany us further in the exposure of his disingenuousness. But we must invoke their patience while we present them some specimens of the kind of evidence on which the critic bases his charges, and enable them to compare the work of Gillett with that of Bonnechose. For wise reasons, doubtless, the critic does not quote certain parallel passages to which he refers, and as one of his references is evidently a favorite one with him, and is mentioned by him again and again, we will give him the benefit of a full quotation:

Gillett, I., 322-327.

Bonnechose, 53, 54.

From every direction crowds were thronging to the famous Council. Multitudes had already arrived, and more were on their way. The buildings of the city were insufficient to accommodate the immense concourse. Booths and wooden buildings were erected outside the walls, and thousands of pilgrims were encamped in the adjoining country. The whole neighborhood presented a curious and novel scene. All classes of society, laity as well as clergy, representatives of every nation, with their peculiarities of costume and manner, the soldier in his

Literature and science also had their representatives at the Council, and several of those who were the living lights of their age appeared with honor by the side of the dignitaries of the church and of the empire. There might be seen the illustrious scholar, Poggio of Florence, who restored to the world Quintilian and Lucretius; Thierry de Niem, secretary to several popes, and whom Providence appears to have placed near the source of so

armor, the prince followed by his escorts, the prelate in his robes, the magistrate with his symbols of authority, servants hastening on servants, thousands providing for the food and entertainment of those who had gathered to the Council—all contributed to make the city of Constance a miniature christendom. To consult the various tastes of the immense crowd of strangers, there were shows and amusements of all kinds, dramatic entertainments and representations of every description, varied with the solemn or gaudy pomp of religious proceedings. Van der Hardt has preserved on the large folio pages of his "History of the Council," the pictured insignia of those who were, in person or by deputy, present during its sessions. Amid the infinite multiplicity and diversity of these coats of arms the mind is confused, and constrained to wonder at the scene within the walls of the *Kaufhaus*, where so many of them were blazoned or suspended about the walls. We have kings, popes, patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, princes, dukes, marquises, counts, barons, nobles, knights, ambassadors, cardinals, abbots, masters, each with original or ancestral contributions to the heraldry of Europe, with devices that seem to have exhausted the symbolism of nature and of art. What then must have been the spectacle which the city of Constance presented, when all these dignitaries, were gathered within its walls, and each vied with the other in the pomp and magnificence of his attendance and display! Who that walked these crowded streets, or gazed upon the princely robes, the rich and costly attire sparkling with jewels and shining with gold, the waving plumes, the burnished armor, the embroidered standards, the splendid equipage, the lengthened cavalcade, which as they swept by, seem to realize some vision of oriental fancy—who would have imagined that amid such scenes of worldly pomp and pageantry, were to be sought decisions and counsels inspired by the Holy Ghost—sentiments accordant with the doctrines of the Galilean fisherman, or sympathy for the evangelical simplicity of the Bohemian reformer!

But let us not forget that beneath all this gaudy ostentation of wealth and power there was present another element, not worldly perhaps, though

many iniquities, for the purpose of unveiling and stigmatizing them. With them must be named Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, afterwards pope, under the title of Pius II., less celebrated in the eyes of posterity for his triple crown than for his merits as a historian; also Manuel Chrysoloras, the learned Greek ambassador, of an illustrious origin and an irreproachable life, and whose labors restored to light some of the writings of Demosthenes and Cicero. But amongst the most learned and most worthy, none exercised so much influence at the Council, by their personal merit, as John-Charlier Gerson, and Peter d'Ailly, Cardinal of Cambray, surnamed the *Eagle of France*. The former, ambassador to King Charles VI., Chancellor of the Church and of the University of Paris, was the Lord of the Council, by his genius, his great character and his indefatigable zeal; and it is evident that he was the honor of the University of Paris, at a period when that celebrated body had become in France the last asylum of the national glory.

A crowd of men of every profession followed the members of the Council to Constance. There was also an immense concourse of strangers, so that the number of persons who repaired thither from all parts, was estimated at not less than 100,000 souls. The eyes of Europe were fixed on a little city, where one of the most imposing assemblies ever known, a veritable congress of christendom, was about to decide on interests of the highest importance.

unconsciously controlled by worldly influence, which deserves a momentary notice. Among those who could claim membership in this most æcumenical of all the councils were men whom we would have been glad to have found in better company, and whose ability, taste, learning, or devotion, however mistaken, suffices, and more than suffices, for their lack of coronets or heraldic device.

Literature and science were not unworthily represented. By the side of the dignitaries of the church and empire stood several whom the after-world honors as the living lights of their age. There, in service, but not in serfdom to the Pope, might be seen Poggio Bracciolini, of Florence, one of the most illustrious scholars of his day; his sentiments liberal and manly, and himself possessed with a zeal for literature, which was rewarded by the discovery in the old monasteries of lost manuscripts of the ancient classics, the writings of Quintilian, Lucretius, Cicero, and others. There, too, was Thierry de Niem, secretary to several popes, and whom Providence seems to have placed near the source of so many iniquities, that by his pen they might be consecrated to historic infamy. With these must be recorded also Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, afterward Pope Pius II., whose fame as the wearer of the triple crown has been long since lost in the greater merit of his pen. There was, also, eminent among the members of the Council, Francis Zabarella, Cardinal of Florence, a man whose learning, virtues, and moderation secured the respect of all the members of the Council, and whose funeral, not long after this, was attended in the most imposing manner by the Emperor himself, as well as the highest dignitaries of Church and State. The feebleness of the Eastern Empire had no need to blush for its representation, when it sent in its behalf to Constance the learned Manuel Chrysoloras, a man whose worth was testified by the gratitude of his scholar Poggio, who erected a handsome monument to his memory. By the side of the epitaph that declared his virtues were verses composed in his honor by Æneas Sylvius, and inscribed in letters of gold.

But among all who were members of the Council of Constance, none occupied a more important position, or exerted greater influence upon the decisions of the body, than John Charlier Gerson, and Peter D'Ailly, Cardinal of Cambray, honored with the appellation of "The Eagle of France." Gerson, for a long time, might be regarded as the master-spirit of the Council. As Ambassador of Charles VI., of France, and Chancellor of the Church and University of Paris, his position was one to give force and effect to his words, and it is not too much to say that he was fully equal to his station. To a character above reproach, and a zeal which rose superior to every obstacle and rejected every seducing influence, he joined a degree of ability for thought, speech, and action which made him, *facile princeps*, the foremost man among the foremost men of the Council. More than perhaps any other member, he had a well and clearly-devised scheme of his own, a philosophy of ecclesiasticism, which was the product of years of careful and observing thought. Better, perhaps, than any other member he understood the attitude and relations of the figures on the chessboard of Christendom, and knew the moves to be made to win the game for the Church.

For the most part, the Cardinal of Cambray, although raised by John XXIII. to the honors of the purple, occupied an independent position, and was found generally by the side of Gerson. Revered by the latter as his former master, teacher and pupil were now united in common views and common efforts. Both had learned in the University of Paris some lessons in regard to the circumstances and corruption of the church which were not

yet lost upon them, and both were men whose fearless integrity rose above the allurements of greatness or the frowns of power.

This (will the reader believe it?) is what the critic calls a "shameful instance of wholesale plagiarism," and the extract from Gillett constitutes a considerable part of the chapter which, he says, "is in great part bodily transferred from Bonnechose." The reader can examine the two passages, and draw his own inferences. If this is plagiarism—and it is evidently a pet specimen with the critic—then few authors of any note, living or dead, can be absolved from the guilt of it. Unless an historian shall invent his facts, he must follow, more or less closely, his authorities, and in many instances there will be an unconscious resemblance in language. The true test, in such a case, is to examine the passages in connection with the context. In the parallel passages quoted above we find some of the same facts stated in somewhat similar language; but by reading them in their connection it will be seen that those given by Bonnechose are grouped anew by Gillett in connection with many others, of which the former makes no mention, and that the charge of plagiarism, so far as any neglect of original investigation is concerned, is worse than impertinent.

By a like method, the futile character of other specifications might be shown. It would be seen that so far from making or using Bonnechose as an authority, Gillett has uniformly endeavored, as he states in his preface, to base his narration on Roman Catholic authorities; for from no Protestant quarter could he have anticipated any disposition to question his statements. Even now, the labors of the critic have not only not invalidated any important statement of the history, but have contributed to strengthen our conviction of the conscientious accuracy, as well as thoroughness, of the historian. The examination of his work shows that for nearly everything of material importance he has given us just those notes and references to which the carping reader can take least exception.

It would be simply wearisome to the reader to follow the critic through the passages he has cited, but at the risk of being tedious we must present further evidence of his disingenuousness. He endeavors to create the impression that the historian has simply copied from Bonnechose wherever it was possible to do so. For example, he notes an instance in which Bonnechose is corrected "in a single phrase" (the correction implying, as he could not but admit, that Gillett had done something more than copy), and remarks, in a tone that betrays his spirit, "It is refreshing to see even so small a spark of accuracy," &c. Now, if he has examined the work to the extent which his citations would seem to imply, he *knows* that these sparks, if brought together, would make a blaze of light sufficient to expose his misrepresentations upon this point. For instance, in immediate connection with one of the passages he cites, is the following, which the reader can compare with Bonnechose, and thus perceive how manifestly false is the charge made against Gillett of being an "easy copyist:"

Gillett, I., 476-7.

After the tumult had somewhat subsided, the Parisian doctor addressed the prisoner. Gerson was not unaware of Jerome's argumentative skill, for they had known each other at Paris. He therefore recurred at once to the old subject of dispute on Universals and Ideas. Gerson was a Nominalist, Jerome a Realist. "Jerome," said the former, "when you came to Paris, you fancied yourself with your eloquence to be an angel from heaven. You troubled the University, broaching in our schools many erroneous propositions, with their corrolaries, and especially in the matter of Universals and Ideas, beside many other things of a scandalous nature." "Master Gerson," replied Jerome, "I answer you, that what I proposed in the schools of Paris, and what I answered to the arguments of the masters, I proposed philosophically, and as a philosophical thinker and master in that University, and if I proposed anything which I ought not to propose, let me be instructed in what respect it is erroneous, and I will be corrected and set right with all humility."

Bonnechose, 74.

The illustrious Gerson gave a melancholy example of this. "Jerome," said he, "when you came to Paris, you fancied yourself with your eloquence to be an angel from heaven! You troubled the University by broaching several false propositions in our schools, particularly relative to ideas and general attributes." "Master Gerson," replied Jerome, "the propositions which I propounded in the University of Paris, and the answers which I gave to the masters there, were scientifically proved by me, as a philosophical thinker; and in my capacity of master in that University. If I taught errors, prove them to be such and I will retract them."

The repeated instances of these "corrections" which might be adduced show plainly that whatever use Gillett made of Bonnechose, he did not regard him as his authority for the main facts narrated, and was not content with his statements unless they had been previously verified or modified by reference to preceding authors.

As to the similarity of the language in repeated instances, it may be remarked that frequently the same facts are given by Bonnechose, L'Enfant, Von der Hardt, Fleury, and the *Monumenta*, in words so nearly identical that one after another might be charged with "plagiarism" on the same grounds upon which the critic bases his charge against Gillett. If the latter is criminal, Bonnechose is tenfold more so, for the similarity between him and L'Enfant is far more extended and striking than that between him and Gillett. But apart from this, any one who will peruse the parallel passages cited by the critic will readily perceive that the resemblance, like that of the Gospel narratives, is no more than that which is almost necessitated by the narration of the same facts from a similar standpoint.

The critic seems disposed to find fault that Gillett did not make his own translations. It is not enough that he corrected these of Bonnechose. But surely it would have been mere fastidiousness to have made a translation for no other reason than that it might differ from one, which needed,

indeed, to be supervised and modified here and there, but which was generally correct. A needless departure from it, on such grounds, might have been more obnoxious to criticism than the course pursued by Gillett.

The favorite charge of the critic is that of "double fraud," because authorities are referred to in which all the facts given in the text are not to be found. He copies a passage from Gillett (I., p. 470) and a parallel one from Bonnechose (p. 72), admitting that in this case the latter is referred to, and because Gillett took occasion to refer to the *Monumenta* in the course of his statement, doubtless for sufficient reasons, the critic assumes that he intended to make the *Monumenta* responsible for the whole paragraph, and then proceeds to say that in the latter no mention can be found of "precipitate . . . departure," or "his sword at the inn." Now, if he had examined the matter fully, and stated it fairly, he would have found that all the facts of any material importance were given in the *Monumenta*, and then he would have added that Gillett, Bonnechose, and L'Enfant had all plagiarized together, as follows:

Gillett, I., 470.

It is even stated, so precipitate was his departure, that he left his sword at the inn where he had alighted. The news of his arrival had already spread abroad, and he was searched for in every direction. But it was soon ascertained that he had left the city.

Bonnechose, 72.

It is even stated, so precipitate was his flight, that he left his sword behind him at the inn where he had alighted. The news of his arrival had already begun to be spread abroad, and search was made for him in every direction; when it was ascertained, almost at the same time as his arrival, that he had departed.

L'Enfant, II., §21.

Ou prétend même que sa retraite fut si précipitée, qu'il laissa son épée dans l'auberge, où s'étoit fait connoître. Car on s'informa aussitôt de ce qu'étoit devenu Jerome, mais personne n'eut put donner aucune nouvelle, quelque perquisition, &c.

Here is the mention in L'Enfant, which the critic desiderates, of "precipitate . . . departure," and "sword at the inn." The main facts are given in the reference of Gillett, and Bonnechose states nothing which is not contained in L'Enfant.

One instance of "plagiarism" the critic denominates "a long and curious one." He says: "He copies (vol. ii., pp. 548-9), with variations, half a page from Bonnechose, referring to no authority; then, still copying from Bonnechose, puts half a page in quotation marks, and refers to Cochleius 312, and continues for several lines in the words of Bonnechose, referring to no one." We give the language of Gillett, Bonnechose, and Cochleius, in parallel columns:

Gillett, II., 548-9.

The intelligence of the conspiracy reached Sigismund at Prague. There, dangerously ill, and almost alone, he saw and felt the

Bonnechose, 170-1.

The Emperor was at Prague, dangerously ill, and almost alone, in the midst of an irritated people, when he learned that a conspiracy

Cochleius, 312.

Præusquam vero Praga abiret, clam vocatis ad se Ungarorum Primoribus, ait; Adest nunc finis vitæ meæ, quod si morte hic preventus

impending danger. Calling around him his Hungarian nobility, objects like himself of popular odium, he spoke to them of his approaching death, and warned them for their own safety, to flee with him from a city in which their lives would be no longer safe the moment he expired. He procured the circulation of a report that he was going to meet his daughter, whom he wished to embrace before he died, and "then resuming all his dignity, he wreathed his brow with laurel leaves, as on solemn feast days, invested himself with his imperial robes and insignia, and decorated still more with his long white hair which flowed freely over his shoulders, with his long majestic beard, and the nobility stamped on his pale visage, he had himself borne through the city in an open litter, in the sight of all, followed by his faithful Hungarians. It is said that he shed tears in regarding this city where his ancestors had gloriously reigned, and which he was looking on for the last time. The people themselves, affected at this unexpected and imposing spectacle, forgot their vengeance, and saluted with their adieus their aged Emperor." The illness and fatigue of the Emperor allowed him to proceed no further than Znoma, in Moravia.

was formed against him, and that the Empress was amongst those engaged in it. He saw the danger, and immediately called around him some Hungarian noblemen then at Prague, and whose fidelity he had proved, and who, on that account, were, like him, objects of popular hatred. "The close of my life," he said to them, "is approaching. Should I die, the Bohemians, now in such irritation, will deprive you of life; they thirst after your blood, and I wish to remove you, with myself, from their fury." He then got a report to be circulated that he was going to meet his daughter, whom he desired to embrace before he died. [Resuming then all his dignity, he wreathed his brow with laurel leaves, as on solemn feast days, invested himself with his imperial robes and insignia, and decorated still more with his long white hair which flowed freely over his shoulders, with his long majestic beard, and the nobility stamped on his pale visage, he had himself borne through the city in an open litter, in the sight of all, followed by his wife and his faithful Hungarians. It is said that he shed tears in regarding this city, where his ancestors had so gloriously reigned, and which he was looking on for the last time. The people themselves, affected at this unexpected and imposing spectacle, forgot their vengeance, and saluted with their adieu their aged Emperor.]

Sigismond proceeded towards Hungary, &c.

fuero, vereor, ne Bohemi, qui me et vos juxta odio habuerunt, in vos irruant. Vestra igitur salutis memor et sollicitus, hanc evadendi excogitavi. Cras adornatis barba et capellis meis, in lectica Imperialiter positus, per mediam civitatem efferri volo, ut vos mecum transeuntibus educam e medio eorum qui sanguinem vestrum sitiunt. Altero igitur die Imperator persona procera et spectabilis per sese, veneranda et barbæ et capillorum canicie spectabilior adornatus mediam ferebatur per urbem, inspectante utriusque sexus plebe, lachrymantibus et ingemiscientibus plerisque, tanquam illum non visuris amplius. Cunctis eum genuum curvatione venerantibus ac salutantibus, quibus ipse capitis inclinatione gratiose respondebat. . . . Verumtamen vivus in Ungariam redire non potuit. Cum autem pexvenisset Znomyam, quod est Moravæ oppidum venit ad eum Gener suus cum uxore, &c.

The reader will note the passage taken by Gillett from Bonnechese (which the former marked as quoted), and, by reference to Cochleius, will perceive that the facts are given, in all material points, by this Roman Catholic historian, whom Gillett chose to cite as his authority. The very form of quotation shows that he avoided assuming any credit for the words, while the authority he refers to gives all the facts, and *is not even mentioned by Bonnechese*. If the critic had been disposed to do justice in this case, he

would have said: "Gillett does not assume credit for the language, and yet he gives the reader an opportunity to examine, in a Roman Catholic authority, the statements upon which, not only the facts of the quotation, but those of the context also, are based." Instead of this, he calls it "a long and curious plagiarism." Is it possible for prejudice to go beyond this?

We must invoke the reader's patience while, out of several others which we are compelled to reserve, we present one more specimen of the critic's disingenuousness. He remarks, with a slight attempt at humor: "Further on, Dr. Gillett makes a curious variation in his plagiarism. He copies a page from Bonnechose, and refers to some one else, as usual; but, contrary to his custom, he puts a fine sentiment from Bonnechose into quotation marks—without, to be sure, telling us where he gets it." He then gives the parallel passages, as follows. We place, in a third column, the language of L'Enfant:

Gillett, II., 516.

Gathering his bravest men around him, Procopius threw himself into the thickest of the fight, and made a manful stand against the hostile squadrons. But he was at last overcome by numbers, and amid the unceasing shower of darts by which he was overwhelmed, he fell pierced by an unknown hand, "*tired of conquering, rather than vanquished.*" Procopius the Less also fell in this terrible battle, and the prophecy of Sigismund [here Dr. G. refers to *Menzel, II., 177*] was fulfilled, that "the Bohemians will only be conquered by themselves."

Bonnechose, 170.

Then Procopius, with the bravest men, to whom he had given the name of the fraternal cohort, threw themselves into the very thick of the squadrons of the enemy, and beat them back; but surrounded at last on all sides, overwhelmed by an unceasing shower of darts, he fell pierced by an unknown hand, "*tired of conquering, rather than vanquished.*" The other Procopius also perished in this famous battle, in which the word of the Emperor was accomplished: "The Bohemians will be conquered only by themselves."

L'Enfant.

Procope cependant a la tête d'un corps de troupes bien aguerries, se jeta au milieu des ennemis, et leur disputa quelque temps la victoire, "*moins vaincu que las de vaincre,*" dit Silvius. Mais enveloppé par un gros de cavalerie, il fut blessé à mort, sans qu'on ait su d'où partoit le coup. [The death of the other Procopius is then mentioned, and L'Enfant adds]; Ainsi arriva ce que Sigismund disoit souvent, "Bohemiens ne pouvoient être vaincus que par les Bohemiens."

Without presenting parallel passages from other authors (as Cochleius, whose account is almost identical, and whom it is evident Gillett had before him), a brief examination makes the following points plain: (1) That Gillett, instead of copying Bonnechose, has, along with his other authorities, consulted L'Enfant; for although he makes no parade of these in his notes, his paragraph is made up from several sources, his "*bravest*" being evidently derived from the "*aguerries*" of L'Enfant. (2) That the "*estimable*" Bonnechose himself has "*plagiarized*" from L'Enfant the very things which the critic charges Gillett with "*plagiarizing*" from Bonnechose. (3) That "the fine sentiment from Bonnechose" is really given by L'Enfant, who ascribes it to Æneas Sylvius. (4) That if Gillett had "told where he got it," he would have had to load his page with needless references to Sylvius, Cochleius, L'Enfant, &c. (5) That this fine sentiment,

which Bonnechose gives as his own, without quotation marks, and which the critic therefore ignorantly ascribes to him as the original author, is conscientiously allowed by Gillett to belong to some one else. (6) That the reference to Menzel, as will appear on examination, was evidently to put the reader in possession of the means of knowing how Sigismond came to make the prophecy; and (7) that the critic was either utterly ignorant of these facts, or chose to conceal them in order to make out fraudulently an odious charge. But we absolve him from fraud, for the presumption of his ignorance is already so overwhelming that charity might in this case be warranted in assuming it, in order to shield him from what would otherwise be a crime such as only his own select phraseology could fully characterize.

Without lingering longer on these details, so uninteresting to the reader, we proceed to the charge of the critic that the historian has given false authorities with a design to mislead. Had he read the statement of the preface that "where the same facts are given by writers of opposite sympathies, the marginal references are to those who would be least suspected of partiality to the cause or doctrines of Huss?" Had he noted here the justifiable caution of an author who was scrupulous in regard to the fidelity of his statements, and who intended to place them beyond the reach of question or cavil? Had he discerned here the fair warning given to the reader that he was not to expect a citation of Protestant authorities, when they could conveniently be dispensed with? *If he had not*, he shows himself guilty of an oversight which disqualified him from being a fair and competent critic. *If he had*, his utter silence in regard to it leaves him open to the charge of inexcusable misrepresentation.

As to Bonnechose, there were good reasons—on the historian's plan, distinctly stated—why he should not have directed the reader more frequently to his work; reasons which justified his course, and which the critic should not only have known, but have been candid enough to state. He was in avowed sympathy with Huss. He was not an original authority, or *in this department* of his work, an original investigator. Many of his documents, and considerable portions of his narrative had been copied, word by word, and sentence by sentence, from L'Enfant, while the latter had not been referred to in a single instance for nearly a hundred pages devoted to the career of Huss. It was necessary to verify his statements, and they were carefully verified by Gillett before he used them. Notwithstanding this, Bonnechose is mentioned in the preface among the authors consulted, and repeated reference is made to him in the course of the history. Would not Gillett have been doing his readers a disservice, and have actually misled them in regard to the authorities, upon which the facts of his work were based, by such a reference to Bonnechose as the critic would require?

Nor can any one claim that every statement of a voluminous history, however unimportant, should be sustained by a pedantic citation of authorities. It is enough that an author gives us sufficient grounds on which to base our confidence in his accuracy. A just medium may be observed between the two extremes of too frequent reference and none at all. A fact which no one would be likely to dispute, may be left to stand on the authority of the author's statement. If there is any which he apprehends may be called in question, it is proper for him to cite such authorities as will sustain just what he wishes to have sustained. The critic has no right to impose upon an author any laws of reference beyond these. He may say that an authority cited does not give *all* the facts, but he has no right to require that it should.

In an extended work it will often occur that references are misplaced or exchanged. We have detected in "The Life and Times of Huss" several instances where this was obviously the case. It would have been easy for a carping critic to have misrepresented these mistakes. But when instead of accepting a natural explanation, the objector is not satisfied till his ingenuity devises one which implies criminality, the odium of his charges must recoil upon himself. Let a historian whose references in the preparation of his work have been few, discover a deficiency in certain material points, and attempt to supply them, and the chances are that in some instances he might still overlook authorities which he would himself have preferred to give: and it might well be that some unimportant points might not be found in those to which he referred.

Without pursuing this branch of the subject further, we must for a moment advert to the gross inconsistency of the critic in his use of terms. He calls Gillett a "reckless plagiarist," and yet speaks of the "*estimable* Bonnechose." We have seen how groundless is his charge against the former; and yet Bonnechose has—according to the critic's logic—"plagiarized" by the wholesale from L'Enfant, while he has not even mentioned him in his preface; and up to page 105, when the career of Huss reaches its close, he refers to him but twice, and in neither case in connection with the life of the Reformer. Was the critic, to the last, and after all his examinations, ignorant of these facts? Did he elaborate all his charges, and marshal all the evidence for their support, in the full belief that Bonnechose was "estimable," when, if the ethics by which he assumes to condemn Gillett were applied to him, the very opposite term would have to be employed? The critic really refutes himself, while he betrays his shallowness. In applying the term "estimable" to Bonnechose, he absolves Gillett.

But it is plain that he did not know what he was about. He has been caught in his own trap. Bonnechose is "estimable," but not by the standard which this critic sets up. He vindicates the memory of Huss. He takes, on the whole, a correct view of his character and position. He does not state his own indebtedness to L'Enfant, but yet his position as a Pro-

testant writer among those who would be prejudiced by the citation of a Protestant authority may perhaps serve as his apology. But if the critic had studiously designed to condemn the motto of his review, "*Tros Tyriusve*," &c., he could not have done anything more directly calculated to attain that end. He has made it evident that he can only vindicate himself from the charge of the most barefaced disingenuousness and prejudice by pleading ignorance, and his tone of assumption bars him from resort to that plea. He is thus doubly inconsistent—first in his ethics, and next in the incongruity between his ignorance and his assumption.

We may now sum up the result of the critic's labors. He has made desperate and repeated attempts to shake the credit of a work which comes forth from the trial like gold from the furnace. He has condemned himself to an amount of drudgery, which in a better cause might have excited admiration, but which in this, through his failure at every point, only covers him with the contempt due to disappointed spite. Against all his intentions, he has done just that which the historian and his publishers would wish to have done, and which he himself must review with bitter regret. He has been the occasion of making it manifest that the historian is not only no plagiarist, but that he has mastered his subject so thoroughly that nothing has escaped him, for his familiarity with almost every point collateral to his great theme is one of the striking features of his work. But the critic has most effectually demolished himself, and he has not done the thing by halves. His wreck is complete. The exposure of his ignorance by the simple comparison of his criticism with that of the *Moravian*, would of itself have been enough to render his assumption ridiculous; but his last assault, with its conglomerate of pretension and blunders, has been fatally unfortunate. It has only recoiled upon himself. It is seen that he has nothing but virulence to compensate for his shallowness. He has given us a special plea, not a judicial sentence: an invective, not a decision. He has supplemented weak arguments by strong epithets, and insinuated where he could not assert. He has asserted, when the assertion, as in the case of the incorrect title, was equally groundless and unjust; or, if one chose to express it in his own style of phraseology, downright falsehood, coupled with slander. He has sneered where his sneers were but the shafts of a witless prejudice, and now is left to the sad but wholesome lesson—that a sneer without a point is as contemptible, if not as harmless, as a wasp without a sting.

And yet there are some features of this matter which are quite as entertaining as they are instructive. One of these is the assumption of this incompetent critic, that he is qualified to read lectures on criticism to the literary press of the country. He looks down upon the entire fraternity with assumed contempt, for they *en masse* have been independent enough to differ from him. "*Odi profanum vulgus*," or, "*Procul este profani*," might well

be his motto. He seems to have studied well the part of "Sir Tremendous" in the play, exclaiming, "There is not in all this Sodom of ignorance, ten righteous critics who do not read things backward." But when he comes upon the stage, he shows that he has improved upon his prototype. The possible nine are reduced to one, and that one is himself. He is an Abdiel among reprobates; Elijah among the prophets of Baal. As to his lecture itself, it is too dull and commonplace to allow its insults to the press of the country their due provocation. Its interest is derived from its character as a special plea, and nothing gives it a flavor but the source from which it originates. When slander mounts the rostrum to moralize, we give it the benefit of such curiosity as we should extend to Satan in a metropolitan pulpit. It is odd as "a fly in amber." We listen, not to be instructed, but to detect the scope of the homily. In this critic's case it is plain enough. He finds it uncomfortable to stand alone. That is the inspiration of his ethics. He abuses others for not joining him. This is the substance of his "exhortation." His audience is vastly larger than Dean Swift's upon a certain occasion related by tradition, but it would require a discerning eye to find among his abused peers, one to whom he could address himself, "Dearly beloved Roger." Familiar as he must be with classic authors, he may still find sympathy, by recurring to the lessons of his youth, and adopting for himself the well scanned line,

"Nequicquam ingeminans, iterumque, iterumque vocavi."

There is something also bordering on the ludicrous in his shifting of his position, now facing the author, now the press of the country, and then the author again. Whichever way he turns, there is a fire in his rear. He undertakes to specify some of his *venal* or *incompetent* antagonists; but after he has pronounced the names of the *Independent*, *Evening Post*, *Christian Examiner*, *Princeton Review*, and a few others, he breaks down in his attempt and leaves his task half done. Still, taking his whole course into view, it must be said in his behalf, that with all the odds, as well as his own blunders, against him, he returns again and again to the charge. He does not seem to be aware how rapidly, like an electrical eel, he exhausts himself by repeating his shocks, or how harmless he has become already. He cannot let the matter rest, or rather, it will not let him rest. The ghost of the Bohemian Reformer haunts him. He bids it "down," but it still revisits him, like another Banquo. Even his "mad-dog" cry does not suffice to drive off the intruder. It is amusing to see how he treats it as a personal antagonist. It has disquieted him sadly, and he owes it a spite. It has been a spear-armed Ithuriel that has transformed him at a touch from a critic to a pedant. In search of the vulnerable points of the book he has pored over it till it must have become perfectly nauseous to him. One would think it had given him a chronic nightmare. He tries to take leave of it (though in vain), in terms that are vastly enter-

taining. He trusts it will be long before he has to expose another such disgrace to American scholarship. One can as readily credit the sincerity of his wish, as the malice of his epithet; but we smile at his irritation. He overdoes in the expression of his disgust. He has said too much, and spoken too often. In the stamping of his rage, he has unwittingly displayed the cloven foot. He has blown the bubble of his pretensions till it has burst. He has lost his temper, and become abusive; and even a hero, in a fret, is very undignified. But the man who cannot command his temper, and who after having fiercely challenged his antagonist, and seen that challenge accepted, turns and tries to change the issue, is very unlike a hero. From the first, with each successive effort, he has been steadily collapsing. He began by taking his seat on the judge's bench. Soon his tone sank to that of a prosecutor, and now we find him in the dock. As he persevered in wrong, he progressed downward. Retribution kept pace with criminality. The critic was criticised himself. Professing to expose pretense, he is detected a pretender. Delivering mock judgments, he is overtaken by a real sentence. In his indiscreet gymnastics of assault, he exposed himself to a blow which cut the girdle that bound his lion's skin about it, and his last utterance is an unmistakable bray.

All that is needed to finish his own picture of himself which we simply unveil, is the pedantry which is fitly allied with groundless assumption. It is the Meg Merrilies' feather that completes his costume. He parades his learning, as a general does his soldiers when his forces are weak, to make a profound impression upon ignorance. They extend far, but it is in single line. He knows that *Galli* is in the genitive case; that Bishopteintz should be written Bishopteinitz; and that Boncicault is printer's mistake for Boucicault, and he parades all this, with more of similar "criticism," with as much gravity as if he were giving us evidence of the profundity of his learning. But he cannot rise above his "last." When he attempts it, he attains to nothing more philosophical than general abuse, and soon subsides into himself only to become more ridiculous for the effort. But "nature will out." A man will gravitate to his true vocation, and the critic has found his. He has gravitated from the seat of a judge and a lecturer on the ethics of criticism, steadily downward to the position of a pedant. Unfortunately for himself, but by his own fault, he has not carried with him either the gown of the lecturer or the ermine of the judge. His pretensions have been exposed, and all that he can do now is to blazon that exposure.

It is with no feelings of exultation that we have unmasked an incompetent and prejudiced critic. Our indignation at his wrong has been tempered by the regret that he has dragged down the character of a review which not a few have regarded with national pride, from its once elevated position. But to suffer his injustice to pass unnoticed would be to lend to iniquity the sanction of a guilty silence, and extend tacit encouragement

to a mischief which would soon deprave our literature. The interest or reputation of an individual author is as nothing in the scale, against the justice which must be violated in order to strike him down. That justice must be guarded with a sacred vigilance, and it can only be guarded by forcing the critic to feel that no anonymous privilege, and no prestige of journalism can shield his wantonness from just exposure. The temptation to play the despot will lose much of its power when the hazards of the game are fully understood.

What, then, is the criticism which the age demands, and which is worthy of the name? As to some features of it, we need not hesitate for an answer. It will be characterized by sound learning, and not by the arts of the pedant—by the severe taste that instinctively shuns all mere parade of scholarship—by an integrity that will never account the abuse of others the vindication of itself. It will maintain a moral standard that will never be suffered to degenerate into malignity or spite. Its tone will be uniformly fair, candid, judicial. It will not carry the ethics of the pugilist into the literary arena, while it will scorn, not only as self-degrading, but morally base, any attempt to batter down another's reputation for fragments to build up its own. It will be ever master of its own temper, and it will bear itself loftily above the strifes of personal or party feeling. Least of all will it be dictatorial in its spirit, or despotic, either in its assumptions or its exercise of power.

Nor will it seek a false reputation by means of hypocritical pretensions to superior learning. It will scorn all the mean arts by which petty minds contrive to command notice or produce a sensation. The true critic will never forget the real distinction between criticism and pedantry. The one is the shaped and polished blade, while the other is but the black dead flakes that have been thrown off on the anvil. One is the sculptor's masterpiece; the other no more than his refuse fragments. The uninitiated observer may admire the last, and exclaim at the wonderful achievements of the blunderer who has spoiled a block of the finest marble; but the true scholar will class him with Goths and Vandals. What to another would appear as "a majestic prose epic," will be estimated by him according to standards more applicable to lexicons or mathematical text-books. The blur of his own mental vision will perhaps be transferred to the book before him, and his own lack of "historic insight" will be charged upon his author.

Such an one might produce citations and quote authorities to show the extent of his reading, but we should delude ourselves if we ascribed these to anything but the tricks of his craft. His specimens would be pieces from the sample-book, proofs only that he had glanced at what he did not comprehend. We should justly regard them as the loose coin that is ostentatiously jingled, but which suggests suspicions of an empty pocket-book. He apes learning to honor it only as the hypocrite honored virtue.

The proper office of the critic is to present his readers with a discriminating judgment of books. In the exercise of the superior advantages which he is supposed to possess, he is to make them acquainted with the current issues of the press. In the discharge of his trust he is to be governed by no personal sympathies or party prejudices. The author may be a Boston Unitarian or a New York Presbyterian, a Trojan or a Tyrian, a New Zealander or a Bohemian, but this is not to bias the critic's estimate of his work. That estimate is to be impartial, based upon a candid and sufficient examination of the work as a whole. "Warts and blemishes," occasional unimportant errors of statement, or even faults or defects which may call for reproof—and reproof that should not be withheld—are not to be allowed to obscure its merits, if it has them. There is scarce a work of any literary note, which might not so be presented, by an elaborate array of its faults, that the reader, trusting implicitly to the critic, would scorn to place it on the shelves of his library. But he who should assume the responsibility of such misrepresentation, would be chargeable with gross slander, and none the less that he bears false witness against a book instead of a man. A book has a character to which it is entitled, and no man has a right recklessly to destroy it. It may have a ministry to discharge, as important in its bearing upon the welfare of the community, as the ministry of a man who has been solemnly set apart to official service. Maliciously or capriciously to injure it, may not challenge the same kind of notice as the maiming of the person, or slander against reputation, but it may be as mean or wicked, and even more harmful. A book ought to have the same liberty that its author has, to go abroad, so long as it is found to demean itself respectfully to the interests of truth and virtue, and it ought to have no more to fear from the violent and malignant assaults of literary Ishmaels, than the good citizen has to fear from the unlicensed tongue of the slanderer, whom the law will hold to a strict account.

The position which the critic occupies is not without its temptations, and here is his danger. He has a giant's strength, and may be provoked to use it as a giant. He is a kind of monarch in his own domain. He can often, if he chooses, play the petty tyrant. A little mind, or a base heart, may readily yield to the temptation. It may be disposed to indulge the wantonness of power or the conceits of pride. The danger is one against which the true critic will vigilantly guard. In the absence of every other check or restraint, he will be a law to himself. He would as soon think of picking an author's pocket as picking at his just and well-earned fame. On no consideration will he consent to deceive or mislead his readers in regard to the character of the work which he presumes to notice. He will ever hold himself at an equal remove from indiscriminate praise and capricious censure.

The office of the critic is a responsible one, and he will feel it to be such.

What we derive from books has come to be an exceedingly important element of our social life. They are our teachers and our companions. They shape our opinions. They foster our vices or strengthen our virtues. As they swarm around us, we see them as varied in character as nature's living forms, from the eagle that soars to the insects that buzz and sting. Some of them are beneficent. Some of them are mischievous. It is a very important thing to know them as they come in our way; to know whether we can derive profit, or can only experience loss or injury from their perusal. The critic helps us to this knowledge. His vocation is a high and lofty one. He has charge of a treasure that outvies the precious apples of the Hesperides. He sits as guardian by the fountains of literary and spiritual life, from which a nation drinks. From under his eye flow forth those currents which will go laden with death or life to every palace and every cottage in the land. He is to see that these streams are kept pure, and that no malignant poisoner, with the venom of his false principles and licentious suggestions, mingles fatal drugs with the healthful tide. He is a minister of the Highest, to "do sharp execution" on books that would taint the nation's life, or sow seed of which the fabled dragon's teeth were a feeble emblem.

For this, task false or inadequate views of truth, duty or science, the sway of prejudice, the domination of party interest or feeling, are a positive disqualification. If the old Roman rhetorician could say emphatically, even with his heathen ethics, that the true orator must be a good man, how much more may we, by the purer ethics of revelation, assert it of the critic. He needs to be true to his trust, and true to the confidence which others repose in his capacity and integrity. Wilfully to misrepresent an author to them, is a crime obnoxious to the gravest reproof. If he intrudes into the domain of religion, and from his own unsettled views venture to communicate uncertainties and doubts that shake unwarrantably the faith of his trusting readers; if in the sphere of morals, he insinuates, or glosses over, false principles; if he suffers mischief of any kind to go forth under alluring literary guise without branding it with reprobation; if he encourages by commendation or silent approval, a literature that depraves or misleads, or which tends to undermine the foundation of a pure social order, then is he false to a sacred trust. He has betrayed priceless interests, and there can be no adequate atonement for his crime. The correction of a printer's mistakes or an author's oversights, may be included in a critic's sphere, but they do not constitute it. He who has charge of a vessel may be seen perhaps, coiling a rope, or assisting to furl a sail, but his proper duty is in another sphere. So, in a sense, the critic is the literary pilot of the community. He notes how it fares with the commonwealth of letters, and by what dangers it is threatened. The issues of the press are to be judged by him with reference to their bearing on the broad interests of humanity. He is not merely to inquire how they bear on the markets, or on party prospects, or on the progress of art and science, or any single form

of public enterprise, His is a broader horizon. To treat a literary oversight as harshly as a moral transgression, is to confound the most important distinctions, and to do a grave mischief. To sneer at a well-meant effort, or crush modest merit, even in its failure, by the terrors of authority, is as ignoble as it is sometimes an easy task. If the critic may omit all regard to the moral bearings of what comes under his eye—if he is merely to consider matters of style, taste, literary culture, etc., without reference to the aim of the work—then the true dignity of his vocation is gone. He wields but a contemptible sceptre over a narrowed domain. Instead of a refiner he is simply a judge of refuse.

Nor is it proper for him to estimate the merits of a work, lofty in its aim, pure in its spirit, and healthful in its influence, by minor literary defects. Cromwell is not to be judged by the wart on his face, and even the *North American* concedes, when it has no antagonist to crush, that "quotation-mistakes, inadvertency, expedition and human lapses, may make not only moles, but warts, in learned authors, who, notwithstanding being judged by the capital matter, admit not of disparagement."

It is essential to a critic's self-respect, as well as to the faithful discharge of the duties of his office, that he should maintain a proper sense of his own independence. But this he cannot well do, so long as he looks to the favor of publishers for his daily bread. The hack of a mercantile firm and an unbiased critic are not synonymous terms. If we are to have a criticism entitled to national respect, those to whom we are to look for it must be emancipated from the control of interested parties and mercenary motives. The attempt to combine the enterprise of a large publishing house with anything like a disinterested and independent exercise of critical judgment, must prove a failure in the end, and a position in which publishers have power to dictate and shape, or modify the policy of a literary journal, is one which he who would worthily discharge his duties as a critic, would scorn to fill. The criticism that is held in leading-strings, is, and must be, simply contemptible. Above all else, a critic must be just. He must suffer no bias of interest to blind him to faults which challenge rebuke. He is not to praise a work because it bears the imprint of certain publishers, although their established character may create a presumption in its favor. There are occasions, perhaps, when he may notice, or decline to notice; but no advertising bribe should be allowed to give color or shape to the notice itself. All will agree that a literary work should not be judged by a political standard, but to subject it to a mammon test, would be still more absurd. The entire profits of literary enterprise throughout the land should be too poor a bribe to shield a bad book from merited opprobrium.

A critic is to be candid as well as just. He is not like a street glazier, to spy out only old hats in broken window-panes and report his discoveries, with an eye to his own profit, but he is to give due credit to whatever is useful or ornamental, and if he finds fault, it is to be in a tone, that instead

of exasperating the owner, will encourage him to repair his dwelling. The world is not best served in any sphere, by the rudeness of a boor, or the petulance of a wasp; and the invectives and abuse of the surly critic can only serve to aggravate the evil they could scarcely have been designed to cure.

But there are faults which deserve the severest rebuke, and they are not those merely of the incompetent, unprincipled, or licentious author. When the brand of crime is on the brow of the poor criminal wretch in the dock, we pity, while we condemn him; but if the judge that presumes to pronounce sentence, holds up that sentence before the eyes of the world in hands crimsoned with a deeper dye than those of the culprit, we feel that a double measure of retribution meted out to him, still falls short of the demands of justice. And when a critic, assuming the tone of a judge, and reading lectures on the ethics of criticism to the whole literary press of the country which he pronounces, without an exception, to be venal or incompetent, is detected in his prejudice, incompetence and false pretension, and is seen to prosecute his iniquitous design, till he sacrifices all decency and dignity, as well as all sense of justice, to his pertinacity in wrong, then the office of the true critic is not only to disown his brotherhood, but to brand his bastard claims with the ignominy they deserve.

If the fate of the Boston critic shall prove the means of calling attention to the true sphere and proper duties of the literary press of the country, or arousing attention to the temptations to which, in some instances, it has been too prone to yield, the world may receive a partial compensation at his hands for the wrong he has done. Among those whom he has condemned, there are some, at least, from whom he might profitably take lessons; some that are *not venal or incompetent*, that are *not* governed by favoritism or controlled by bribes, who are honest in the expression of convictions, intelligently and consistently formed, and who not only are decided in their approval of the work which he has condemned, but are too upright to interpose between him and the censure he has challenged.

LIFE AND TIMES OF JOHN HUSS.

NOTICES OF THE PRESS.

These volumes fill a space in our Ecclesiastical History which had been less thoroughly explored than perhaps any other portion of it. . . . And yet in this century lived some of the most remarkable men of any age, and in it occurred some of the most striking events in the whole history of the Church. . . . The volumes contain not only a memoir of Huss, but a detailed history of the Romish Church for more than a hundred years—a period, too, comparatively little known. It is a valuable acquisition, therefore, to our Church literature; a gift which the religious public will receive with gratitude, and which we hope they will repay by a liberal patronage.—*Bibliotheca Sacra*.

The style is clear, manly and discriminating. . . . It is not deficient in ease, grace, or vigor. He is almost always careful, always unambitious, always in good taste. . . . He has been thorough in the investigation of authorities, and if he writes without enthusiasm, his judgment carries the greater weight. As a scholar and a historian, as a man of candor and resources, his name is an ornament to the Presbyterian ministry, of which he is a member.—*Atlantic Monthly*.

There is apparent in the arrangement of the material, in the graphic and spirited delineation of the chief actors on the stage, in the often artistic grouping, in the fresh and fervid style, in the impartial representation of facts, the touch of a master familiar with his keys.—*Am. Monthly Knickerbocker*.

He has ransacked everything that came within his reach, and has used his materials, accumulated from all sides, with every effort to be impartial. Yet he has been thoroughly in love with his subject, and the leading characters of it; and under his manipulation, the tale unfolds itself with all the minuteness and all the energy of a drama. . . . There can be no question as to the general judgment that "The Life and Times of John Huss" is an honor to American literature, and one which will fill a place as a permanent authority upon the period of which it treats so ably.—*Church Journal*.

No equal contribution to our historic or ecclesiastical literature has been given for many a year.—*Christian Advocate and Journal*.

A graphic picture of the times of Huss.—*N. Y. Chronicle*.

The narrative is more interesting than novel reading. The work gives dignity and lustre to American scholarship. By its comprehensive survey of the condition of Europe, its masterly analysis of conflicts in national affairs, and of the scholastic and theological strifes in the Romish Church—its scholarly thoroughness and literary finish, it will secure a permanent place among the most successful efforts of American scholarship.—*Watchman and Reflector*.

It is the first successful attempt to give anything like a detailed and circumstantial account of a movement scarcely surpassed in interest by any other, since the establishment of Christianity in the earth.—(Boston) *Zion's Herald*.

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His researches are ample, his materials abundant, his selections discreet, his style rapid and racy, "strong without rage, without overflowing full." He has secured, we judge, a high and permanent place in our literature.—*New York Independent*.

The author has achieved a great work, performed a valuable service for Protestantism and the world, made a name for himself among religious historians, and produced a book that will hold a prominent place in the esteem of every religious scholar.—(N. Y.) *Observer*.

Rarely have we known a task performed with equal fidelity and success. Mr. Gillett has produced a large, but not a cumbrous work. It is abundant in detail without tedious minuteness. . . . The book, however, has other merits besides those of historical accuracy and interest. The author is more than a mere compiler. He has not only scrutinized, but generalized. He has surveyed the whole field as well as the separate portions, and he has firmly grasped and clearly presented the great leading features of the period, and the fundamental ideas involved in the movement. The work, in short, is a labor of love, well and faithfully done.—(N. Y.) *Methodist*.

One of the most valuable contributions to ecclesiastical history yet made in this country.—(N. Y.) *Evangelist*.

A calm, patient, thorough historical contribution, which will reflect credit at home and abroad upon the higher authorship and scholarship of the country.—*Literary Gazette*.

An historical and biographical narrative, in method, style, and elevation of sentiment, every way worthy of his great theme. His description of Bohemia prior to the advent of Huss, is a masterpiece, and reminds one of the very highest efforts of Bancroft in descriptive composition.—*Christian Intelligencer*.

He has fully investigated the subject, and the result is a work which the world will not willingly let die.—(Philadelphia) *Press*.

The Boston Correspondent of the *Round Table*, speaking of a visit years since to the scenes of the life and martyrdom of Huss, says: "I would have given a good deal could I have had then such a clear and succinct account of the Bohemian Reformation. . . . The author has studied the bib-

liography of his subject fully, and shows that he has not neglected anything that could bring him illustrative assistance."

The Boston Correspondent of the *Springfield Republican* speaks of it as "One of the most interesting books I have met with. The Bohemian Reformation is a very interesting period, and the story is very graphically told. The book is a positive and valuable addition to our historical literature."

The Philadelphia *Presbyterian* speaks approvingly of "its spirit and style," and "of the great interest of its contents."

The Pittsburg *Presbyterian Banner* says: "Mr. Gillett is a Presbyterian clergyman, hitherto unknown to fame in the world of authorship. But his work needs no adventitious aid. Its intrinsic merits will plead its cause."

The author does not magnify the Bohemian Reformer by the aid of wordy repetitions, but rather allows him to present himself in his own greatness as the austere and bold champion of the truth; and then, with the hand of a master, he groups around him all the principal characters who play their parts in the drama of that age.—*Moravian*.

A work not only of singular interest to the general reader, but a work of great historical value. . . The theme is a noble one, and the author's soul seems in full sympathy with it. There is not a little dramatic skill shown in the arrangement and execution of the work, and there is a felicity of grouping and of portraiture, which makes it as interesting, and often as exciting as romance. The style of the work is also fresh and vivid, energetic, and often brilliant; while it is written in a truly impartial and liberal spirit. It is a work which reflects honor on American literature, and adds another name to the noble list of American historians.—*American Presbyterian and Theological Review*.

The author has performed his task with ability, judgment, and literary taste. These volumes will take their place among standard works on kindred subjects, and reflect the highest honor upon the author and the country.—*Evangelical Quarterly Review*.

Brief space compels us to use strong words to do commensurate justice to this noble work. It appears to us an honor to American scholarship and talent. It selects one of the truest, noblest, purest martyrs of the entire Christian history; it scatters the shades which historical neglect has allowed to gather around him; it draws from a thorough research into original and contemporary sources, with graphic power, a living portrait of characters and events that possess an undying interest for every lover of purity, truth, and freedom.—*Methodist Quarterly Review*.

The scholar will at once see what a rich field in which to work, this new candidate for literary honors has had. Moravian scholars in this country commend it warmly as a faithful record of the heroic times of the fathers of their Church. . . . The style is always clear and spirited. It is a good, vigorous, manly English style, and its descriptions often glow with a warmth of feeling well suited to the noble theme.—*New Englander*.

He has grasped and arranged the whole with a philosophical comprehensiveness and insight, a vigor of presentation, and delicacy of shading which entitles his work to be placed on the same level in the department of Church History, with that occupied by Bancroft and Prescott in secular history. The proportion of the parts is finely maintained, and the relation

of individual events to the whole is so skilfully woven, that the narrative moves on with an unbroken flow, swelling and rising as it advances. The power of historic grouping, the distinguishing feature of all great historians, the author possesses to a high degree. His portraiture of Huss, in the elevation, calmness, and conscientiousness of his heroic and inflexible spirit, is a masterpiece.—*Theological Eclectic*.

All students of that premature but heroic effort to put the claims of conscience above the authority of the visible Church, have occasion to thank the author of these volumes for his faithful and painstaking labor. . . . He deserves the gratitude of the public, by his attempt to place that earlier Reformation in as clear and full a light as we have been accustomed to, in those more famous events which were needed to develop its true importance.—(Boston) *Christian Examiner*.

The Bohemian Reformation stands out in clear relief in the field of European progress, with well-defined boundaries and most stirring elements. It is remarkable that it has waited so long for a thorough treatment. . . . Our author's style is clear, forcible, flexible, effective, without wanting in dignity.—*Boston Review*.

John Huss has never before been fairly represented to the English reader, if indeed to any other. We see him here with his noble compeers, battling fearlessly for truth, and laying foundations and rearing superstructures . . . that no fires of persecution could consume. A lost leaf in history is found in this work.—*Congregational Quarterly*.

The style of the work is plain, easy, picturesque and glowing. . . . His method is truly historic, and he paints his portraits with a scrupulous regard for the truth.—*Freewill Baptist Quarterly*.

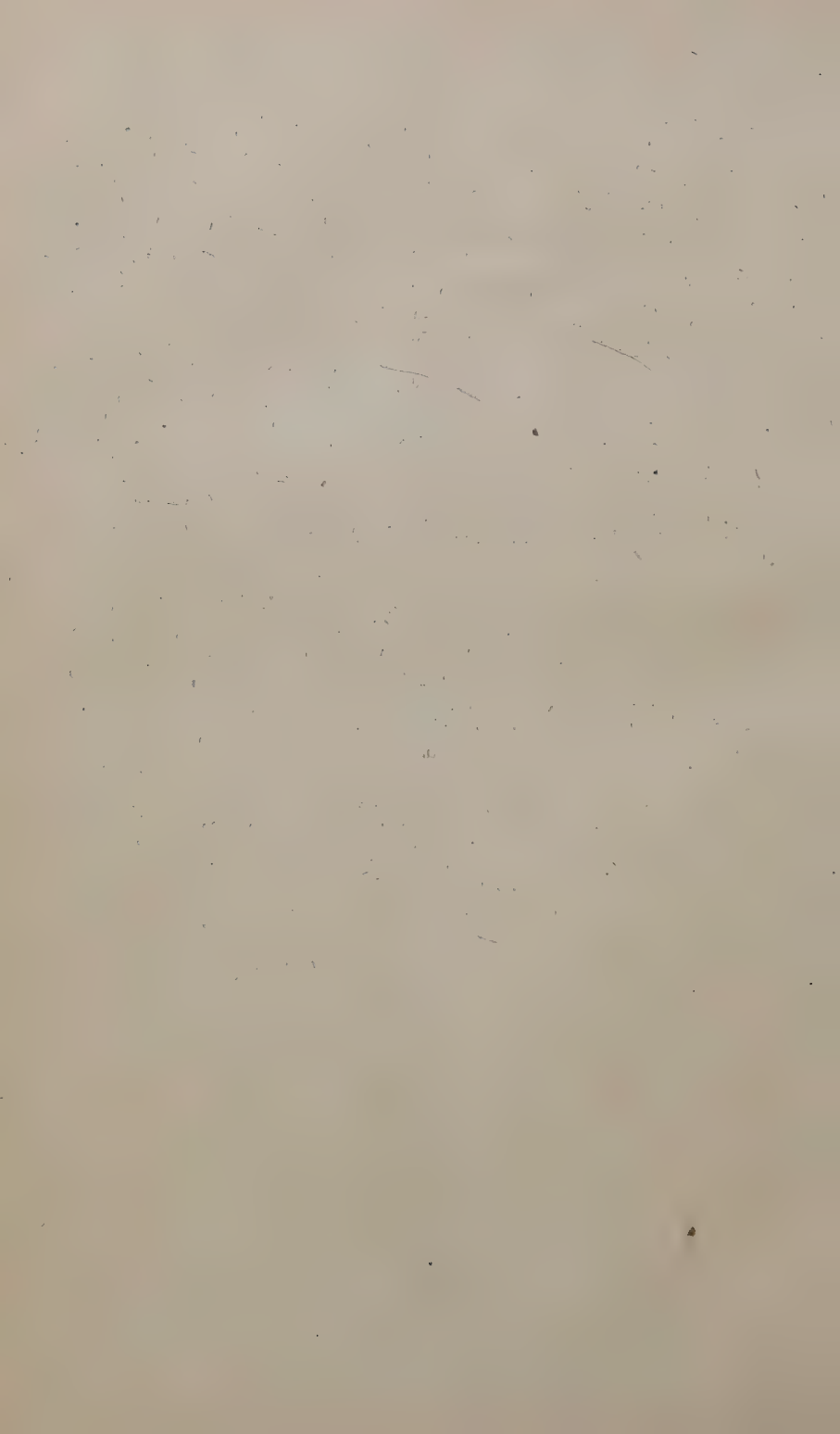
There have been to our view few more valuable contributions to our religious literature during the present century. The author of this work takes rank with Sparks, Bancroft, Irving, Prescott, Hopkins and others who have done so much to exalt the reputation of our country in the world of letters by their historical productions.—*Princeton Review*.

AN
APPEAL FOR MINISTERS:
A DISCUSSION
ON
THE NECESSITY FOR A GREAT EFFORT
TO SUPPLY
THE COUNTRY WITH PREACHERS
OF THE GOSPEL.

BY SAMUEL C. BARTLETT, D.D.,
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1865.



INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

This discussion was prepared at the instance of a Christian layman. Its publication has been requested by other individuals, both ministers and laymen. As I deem it important to show that the view here presented is reinforced by some of the best and wisest Christians of the West, I subjoin the letter of one whose opinion carries weight:

SAINT LOUIS, March 29, 1865.

PROF. S. C. BARTLETT, D.D.:

Dear Brother:—I have listened to your Appeal for Ministers with much interest, and think the times demand its publication. Its facts and arguments should come before the churches. Implicated with our present political crisis to a great extent, constituted and borne on by it, is a social and religious one, equally determinative of a vast future. Indeed the two blend together. The problem of National Life, Civilization and Faith, is one. The last is eminently the vital and primal interest. All have been assailed by the shock and ruin of this war. All require renovation and new creation. The hour, though critical, is hopeful. Ruin may have opened the way to a better order. But this will be as the nation is wise to discern and use its opportunity. Order, of some shape, seems destined soon to emerge, bearing the seal of ages. To meet the present exigency there needs, on the part of the churches, a wise, prompt and earnest dealing with the problem of increasing both the numbers and efficiency of its ministry. This will involve the consideration of more efficient means, not only of calling forth laborers in the Word, but of imbuing them with more of the apostolic aim and spirit.

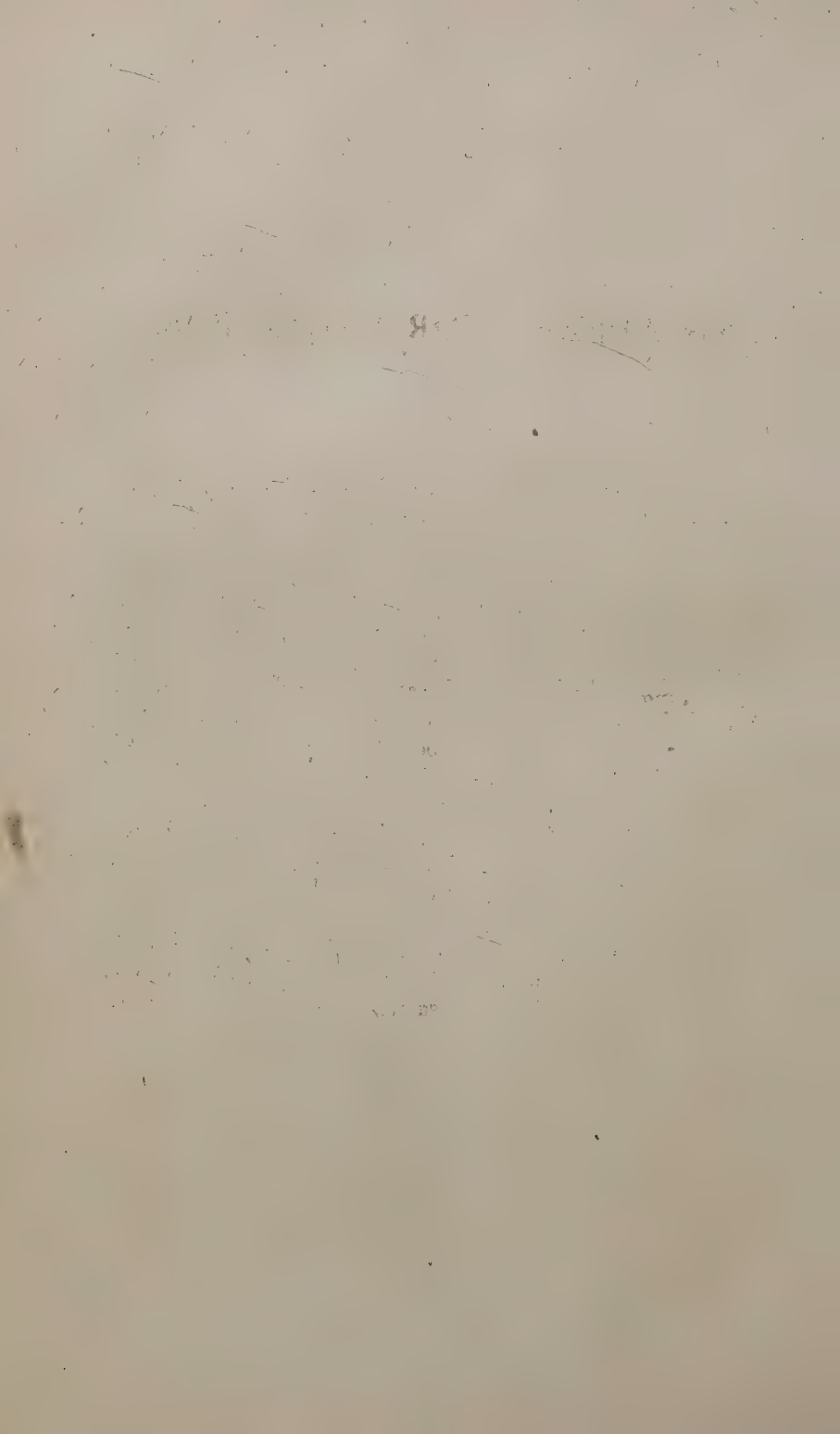
It may require an adaptive modification of our present standard of the pre-requisite culture and attainment to be insisted on before admission to the ministry, and also of our present scheme of employment of those admitted.

The problem of a more extensive and efficient use of the lay element, in the work of evangelization, is also urged on us by the present exigency. These and kindred questions now press on the American Church, and demand the attention of the National Council of Congregational Churches, soon to behold.

As a valuable and timely incitement and argument in furtherance of the object at which it aims, I should regard the publication of your Appeal as a public benefit.

Truly Yours.

T. M. POST.



AN APPEAL FOR MINISTERS.

WHEN our great national crisis burst upon us, the nation was well-nigh ruined because it was wholly unready. It had but a skeleton army and a plaything navy; and they were scattered to the four winds. Its arms were in the hands of the enemy; its forts and arsenals manned by imbeciles and traitors, and its treasury plundered. For a time its Capital was beleaguered and in danger of being captured. The promptness of the New York Seventh, and the wise forecast of the old Bay State, saved the nation this crowning disgrace. Then came a call for seventy-five thousand troops, when five hundred thousand should have been the word. Next followed half-policies and half-battles, till the conflict expanded to gigantic size and deadly aspect.

We can now see how easily the whole calamity could have been nipped in the bud. A dozen fortresses well garrisoned, as General Scott advised, would have forestalled it; a few thousand troops poured suddenly upon it, would have extinguished it. We can go further back and say, had the church of Christ been faithful, it could not have happened. A true ministry in Southern pulpits, sustained by a clear testimony from the whole body of Northern Christians, would have rendered such a wide apostasy and conspiracy impossible.

Now is not the church of Christ, by her lethargy, in imminent danger of repeating the ruinous error of the nation? A great *religious* crisis in our history is about to be met. Such an opportunity of moulding such an empire for such a destiny, never offered itself since the Savior came. Huge Northern territories are filling up and asking for institutions. A whole South is to be opened for a free gospel. Vast armies are soon

to be dispersed. Great tides of home and foreign immigration are about to set in. Wonderful forms of activity and enterprise are leaping into the arena. The nation is becoming trained to lavish its money and offer up its sons. The minds of men in public and private life are impressed with the presence of God, and awake to his truth. Every thing is alive, and astir, and on the rush.

But are Christian men—are you, dear brother—yet half aroused to comprehend the situation? Have you risen to the grandeur of the work? Have you caught the enthusiasm, the inspiration of the hour? Do you perceive and solemnly feel that you have come into the church for such a time as this? Are you praying and thinking and scheming over this great subject? Are you increasing your help to the work of home evangelization? Are you stirring up the hearts of your brethren? Are you looking around for young men to enter the ministry? Are you specially dedicating your own sons to the work? Are you anxious, or willing even, that they should enter it?

And here we reach one of the most critical and even alarming facts in our present condition—the utter inadequacy of our ministerial force for the work we are called to do. It not only *is* insufficient: we cannot see how it is seasonably to *become* sufficient, by the utmost efforts; and yet the efforts are not making. Let me ask your attention to a few suggestions upon

THE NECESSITY FOR AN EXTRAORDINARY EFFORT TO SUPPLY
OUR COUNTRY WITH FAITHFUL PREACHERS
OF THE GOSPEL.

I. Look then first at the greatness of the demand. It has been said that there is a surplus of ministers in certain older parts of the country. It would scarcely affect our argument to grant the statement. The surplus would be but a drop in the bucket. But we doubt that there is a redundancy of the right kind of ministers even in those sections. In Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont, there are more vacant Congregational pulpits than unsettled ministers,—including all the clerical agents, editors, secretaries, teachers, broken-down, superannuated, incompetent and secularized. Massachusetts

and Connecticut have a nominal surplus; but it includes a host of retired ministers, teachers, agents and the like; while there are in the one State seventy-two, and in the other fifty-four vacant parishes. No doubt certain popular places find plenty of candidates; but we know that those places either find or make it hard to suit themselves. And so long as many vacancies exist around, and abundant openings through the country, it follows only that many of the candidates are not suited to the actual work.

But no matter. Grant that some of the older sections, New England especially, are supplied. New England has now become but a dot on the map. Look to the great and growing Northwest and the opening South. You can lay all New England down within the one state of Minnesota or Kansas, and leave a quarter of the state for a border. You can put it inside of Missouri or Nebraska; almost within Michigan, Illinois, Iowa or Wisconsin; and California will hold it nearly three times over. Second only to California is Oregon; while there are now looming up into power the huge territories of Colorado, Washington, Nevada and Idaho—the last alone five times the size of all New England.

In all these new regions churches spring up as by magic,—though still they lag behind the population. In Illinois and the group of six neighboring States, between the years 1853 and 1863, there came into existence four hundred and seventy Congregational churches, or nearly fifty a year.* In many other destitute places within this region, churches should and might be formed, could the right man be found to gather them. But in nine States northwest of Ohio the number of pastors and stated supplies is hardly two-thirds the present number of churches. And though the destitute churches may now be mostly poor and feeble, all the louder is the call for a self-denying ministry that shall lead them up to be great and strong. From all these quarters there constantly come to the Chicago Theological Seminary urgent applications for pastors, which cannot be met. While writing this appeal, a letter comes to me from a county-seat in Minnesota, and another from a leading place in Nebraska, and a third from a flourishing village

* The States are Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, and Kansas.

in Illinois, asking for ministers; one of them to organize a church. At one Anniversary, a single missionary agent was ready to dispose of the whole graduating class within his own field, could he have secured them.

Even in the older of these north-western States there are still great destitutions of the right men. The American Home Missionary Society reports southern Ohio and southern Indiana as "presenting large fields for missionary culture," and the north-western counties of Michigan as being just now "a missionary field of great interest and importance." The portion of Illinois called Egypt now needs and invites a true ministry. Nineteen counties in southern Iowa, with an aggregate population of 100,000, have no Congregational church, and multitudes there have "no adequate spiritual provision." In Minnesota "important churches and several fields where churches have not been gathered, are now awaiting laborers." The work is just begun in Kansas and Nebraska. Nineteen counties of the former State, "each peopled by from 500 to 5,400 of our kinsfolk, are almost wholly destitute" of an intelligent ministry. Missouri, by God's wonder-working Providence, is now opening to receive a free and loyal ministry; and her call is urgent. The missionary agent just sent there is ready to locate many other missionaries at once, telling us of "twenty towns on the Hannibal and St. Joseph railroad alone that have no stated preaching, nor even a Sabbath School." California and Oregon have long been pressing for ministers. The flood of emigration to the gold-fields of Colorado, Idaho, Nevada and Montana. is about to impose a solemn duty on the churches. In a recent journey President Blanchard met in a *single day* between Denver and Fort Kearney, eight hundred and thirty-five yoke of oxen drawing gold-mills; and it is reported in the newspapers that during the last season, 300,000 people went to that mountain region. Soon the soldiers' warrants and the Homestead Bill will fill the new sections with a great tide of population, who will call for a ministry by scores and hundreds.

And what shall we say of the South, the poor afflicted South, long cursed with slavery, now blackened with war, soon to be opened to the truth. We owe them a debt for the delinquency of the past. Puritan institutions and influences would have saved all this horrid havoc. Let Puritan institutions make it

impossible for all time to come. Poor old Virginia, with nine-tenths, and Kentucky with four-fifths of her children out of school, are suffering for northern light. Howell Cobb's constituents can now come in contact with his long dreaded "Plymouth Rock." A free church is already formed under the most hopeful auspices at Memphis, and another is forming at Baltimore. An urgent request, backed by thirty influential names, has come north, asking for a true ministry at New Orleans. Nashville, Vicksburg, Little Rock, Knoxville, Chattanooga and other southern cities, ought to be seized on the heels of victory, as radiating centres for a wide spiritual invasion. Four million blacks and as many millions of more degraded whites are to be fitted for freedom. The minister of a pure gospel has at length ceased to be an outlaw; and christian colonies, christian teachers, and above all christian preachers are to be poured in upon this formative state of southern life. We are indeed "fools and blind" if we do not see that the peace and life of the nation hang upon the work, and that now is our time. God has wrought for us. A region as tightly closed against the gospel as was China, Japan or Madagascar, is suddenly unlocked. The Army, the President and the Congress have marched in solemn procession before the ark around this Jericho. We witness a scene almost like that in the Sandwich Islands, where the idols were overthrown during the voyage of the missionaries. The old religious institutions in large portions of the South are virtually dissolved by the war. Their wealthy supporters are beggared, in fact or in prospect. The old ministry is so far relapsed and collapsed by the treason, that Presbyteries of twenty members or more, in some regions, cannot muster more than five or six*. Places like Vicksburg and Nashville are entirely cleared of the former preachers and preaching. And a writer in the Wesleyan Missionary, in describing the moral desolation of Arkansas, says, "to the best of my knowledge there is not a religious organization of any kind in the whole country north and north-west of the Arkansas river on to Missouri state line, and even a hundred miles beyond. In all this wide-spread region there is *but one man left* to lift up his voice and proclaim the word of life†."

* Stated to my informant by Rev. Mr. Lighton, a Presbyterian Minister of Missouri.

† Quoted in the American Missionary for March, 1865.

The opening for which the church has long prayed is just at hand. Is the church ready now to follow her prayers by her works?

II. Look then at the state and prospects of the supply. About *one fourth* of the Congregational churches in the country now are, and for eight years past have been without stated preachers. During this time the number thus destitute has ranged from 456 to its present number 676,—being now larger, actually and proportionally, than ever before*. It is vain to say that the whole number of Congregational ministers has kept not very far behind that of the churches. Several hundred of them are in posts from which the churches cannot possibly spare them—even for the pastoral office; many others are disabled, or in some way so incapacitated that the churches cannot or will not employ them. It is also vain to tell us that many of these destitute churches are feeble. To our certain knowledge, very many lack only a good pastor to grow strong; And the feeble, too, must in some way be provided for.

And what now of the unoccupied fields already calling for help—those whole western counties with their population of thousands, and the broad fringe of border settlements, “sinking into ignorance, immorality and barbarism.” What of the Pacific States calling louder and louder for help? What of the new territories that have gathered large populations since the war began? What of the hundreds of places—growing villages and embryo cities—with no adequate provision for their religious wants? What of these vast missionary fields. Says Dr. Coe of the A. H. Missionary Society, “the want of ministers is blocking the wheels of our work all over the west, but especially in the newer states and territories.”

Look at a few specific instances. The Home Missionary agent for Nebraska finds “a wide and destitute field, with

*These facts are from the Congregational Quarterly. The compiler of these facts, in the Congregationalist of March 31st, endeavors to explain away these facts and show that there is no scarcity of ministers. But as his statements are mainly general and partly conjectural—as the remedies he proposes for admitted destitutions are impracticable—as he overlooks the duty of organizing new churches in this great growing country, and the aggressive work to be done at the South—and as he does not have occasion to consider the greatly reduced number of candidates for the ministry—I have deemed it necessary to make no further reply here than is contained in the total facts I set forth. They will speak for themselves.

abundant materials for churches; but if they are organized, they can only famish and die for want of ministers." The Society would be ready "to send a score of additional laborers without delay to the states and territories on our Pacific border," if they could find them. And these would be but the beginning. Indeed Rev. G. H. Atkinson specifies more than twenty places in Oregon alone, that are now suffering for want of ministers. A writer from San Francisco sadly pleads that "for Nevada Territory, soon to become a state, we have not a single clergyman;" and he mentions seven important posts around him in California,—one the centre to thousands of people, one with a brick church edifice, two with churches already formed and able to pay a salary, and two important fields with no Protestant worship whatever,—where they "would welcome a minister as an angel of God." Dr. Coe writes to us that "During the past year extensive explorations have been made under the auspices of this Society in Idaho and Montana. We have published the story of the destitution and growing barbarism of these Territories, but have as yet been able to do nothing for them, for want of ministers." President Blanchard tells us of one gulch in Montana containing a population of 40,000; and within sixty miles of that centre a population of 60,000, without a minister of the gospel except a Baptist, who is also engaged in secular business and went there to get gold. "No church, no prayer meeting among all that people." These are but specimens of the cry from various quarters.*

Now where are the men for this work? and where, too, are the men for the great aggressive work at the South? The number required for the South alone it is vain to conjecture. It will be limited only by the liberality of the churches, and the zeal and self-denial of the young men.

But where, we repeat it, are all these men to come from? We trust that God will dispose the hearts of many intelligent

* As these pages are passing through the press, Rev. S. Thurston, Secretary of the Maine Missionary Society, writes to the *Congregationalist*: "I have been looking for several months for *suitable* men for sundry vacant places in Maine, but cannot find them. The Maine Missionary Society would at once employ a score of such men; but where are they? And Mr. Guernsey, agent of the A. H. M. Society in Iowa, informs me that he would like to find an equal number of ministers for that State.

laymen to spring at once to the work. Still the leading part must be borne by an educated ministry. But the men are certainly not in the profession. Nor are they on the way to it; they are not in the Theological Seminaries. The entire number in the Seminaries of our denomination is but one hundred and seventy-seven*. Add to this some thirty-eight Congregational students said to be in Union Theological Seminary, and the total is only 215; and but one third of these will enter the field in each year, to meet the constant loss in the older regions, as well as this vast call in the new—to supply the waste of 2,800 churches and constantly add to the number. The candidates are not in our Colleges. Not only the absolute number of young men intending to enter the ministry, but the *proportion* of these to the pious young men in College, has fallen off. Thus in 1853, of the pious young men in Amherst College three-fifths were looking forward to the ministry (66 out of 113); and Prof. Tyler could thus say of the College, that “*by far the larger part* of the professors of religion have *always* been studying with a view to preach the gospel.” But in 1865 not quite one half the professors of religion (77 out of 155) are looking to the ministry; and the new Freshman class has “a smaller proportion of candidates for the ministry than any class in the whole history of the college.” Still greater is the falling off in some other leading colleges. Williams College in 1853 had 106 pious men, and 71 candidates for the ministry; now 102 pious young men and but 25 candidates for the ministry. From Harvard we hear that “many of the most devout young men in college—such as a few years ago would have thought of no other profession—are not going to become ministers.” Dartmouth out of 183 students, including 48 professors of religion, reports *but ten* candidates for the ministry. Yale reports 125 professors of religion, but “the proportion of those intending to enter the ministry is small,”—so small and ill-defined that the number is not stated. Of all the colleges which have hitherto furnished the chief supply for the ministry, we find

*This statement includes the Seminaries at Andover, Bangor, New Haven, Chicago, Oberlin, and East Windsor. We deal chiefly with the statistics of our own denomination for various reasons; among others, because we can better ascertain the facts, and we are addressing our own people.

none which has not largely fallen off.* The beneficiaries of the American Education Society are fewer than they have been for twenty years†. It does not relieve the case, though it may explain, to say that the war causes it. We want the men; and they are not and will not be ready. We hope and believe that many young men whom in various capacities the war has withdrawn from their studies, will return with quickened hearts and tongues unlocked. We know of others, both ministers and candidates, to whom the camp has proved a poor Seminary of Theology. The future in that direction is still an unsolved problem. Meanwhile one fact stands out palpable and unpromising: the home supply of ministers, now inadequate, is surely becoming smaller; and worse yet, the *proportion* of candidates for the ministry to the number of pious students is much less than heretofore,—while the demand is greatly to increase.

III. These facts direct us to the grounds of solicitude. There is a lethargy of Christian sentiment on the subject. Some interest has indeed been awakened; yet thus far it is but skin-deep. There seems to be no earnest, manly grappling with the great problem that is absolutely crowding on us. Where does the burden press the heart of the church as it once did in the days of Cornelius? Where are the importunate petitions to the Lord of the harvest for more laborers? Where are the Roxana Beechers, rising before the family to pray, and dedicating all their sons effectually to the work? Where the public sentiment that presses every pious and intelligent young man squarely to meet and answer *this* question of duty, before he turns away to any other sphere of life? Where are the fathers

*Middlebury, however, reports 15 candidates out of 25 professors of religion and 65 students; which though a larger proportion of its pious young men than in 1853, is a smaller ratio of its whole number of students, and a less number in itself. These statements for the present year are taken from the Report of the Society of Inquiry at Andover. That report embraces 23 leading colleges and shows a total of 3,691 students, of whom 1,609 are professedly pious, and 584 of these intend to enter the ministry. Three institutions fail to give the number of candidates, but as four others give the last year's report, (undoubtedly too large for the present year) the total is probably a near approximation to the facts. Seven other colleges, reported by Princeton, add 633 students, including 291 pious men, and 125 candidates for the ministry. *These colleges are of all denominations.*

†Secretary Tarbox reports to me the number for the present year "about 215." The lowest point reached in twenty years before was 218, in 1845; whereas from 1853 to 1860 the number ranged from 308 to 372.

in the ministry searching the churches for the choicest youth to serve the tabernacle? Where are "the dew of our youth," made willing in this day of God's power?

Instead of all this, we see the claim of personal duty eased off from the conscience on the vague plea that all employments need pious young men,—just as some men abrogate the Sabbath on the ground that all days should be holy. And accordingly we see the majority of the educated young men of the church, hastening to law or medicine, or trade, or other secular pursuits; and many others with the ministry in view, loitering by the way, or lingering round the scenes of ease and luxury. We see whole families of ministers' sons turn their backs on the ministry. We know young men who had been on the way to the work—we believe they are few—actually discouraged because the pay is so poor and the annoyances so great. The income list casts its broad shadow over the land.

We do not say this to excuse the abundant niggardliness of the churches towards the ministry. Nor do we cast any indiscriminate reproaches upon the ministry or candidates. The calling is justly held in honor by reason of the men that fill it. There is a great company of faithful laborers now at work—the real heroes of the nation—braver even than the men who stormed Fort Fisher, or fought by the week together round the Wilderness. There are men—and women too,—refined and educated, who in obscure places through their whole lives are fighting daily with want and hardship and ignorance and sin, as good soldiers of Jesus Christ; such men as planted the gospel in the *villages* of Ann Arbor, Ypsilanti, Jackson, Marshall, Niles, Chicago, Quincy, Galena, Ottawa, St. Paul, Dubuque, and who in hundreds of young settlements battled with all the trials of a pioneer and frontier life; the men whose toils gave character to Iowa and California, and bound the Northwest to the Union. Thank God for such men as these—the witnesses of a holy zeal that once fired the heart of the churches. The race is not extinct. But where is the great and goodly company of their fellows and successors? Does not the Holy Ghost say as of old, "Separate me Barnabas and Paul for the work?" But where, alas, are Barnabas and Paul? And where are the churches that are heeding the voice of the

Holy Ghost, speaking as he does with startling tones in the mighty Providence of God?

IV. And now consider to what duties we are called in view of these facts.

The first duty is one which is common to all the disciples of our Savior. It is the duty of effectual fervent prayer to the Lord of the harvest. And here is our *immediate* hope. We cannot wait for the youth to be started in the academy, carried through the college, and then trained in the Seminary. Ten years hence the mighty current will have rolled on far beyond the reach of human control. The men are all ready now for God's call. In twenty-three of our colleges, there are already gathered two thousand unconverted young men, and a thousand professors of religion not looking towards the ministry. How easy for the same God who in one revival at Yale College carried into the ministry the spiritual fathers of 50,000 converts, to pour out his Spirit mightily upon these young men, and sweep this great tide of influence into his own chosen channel. How easy for him to melt those two thousand unconverted hearts and make them ask, "Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?" How easy for him to sound the trumpet call of duty in the consciences of those thousand professors of religion, so that they shall have no rest till they "preach the preaching" that God bids them. Will you not then pray fervently that the Master would take this congregated mass of talent, all ready and unemployed, and mould it for his own best use? Pray for the immediate conversion of these unconverted young men. Pray for the full consecration of these professors of religion. Pray for a revival of the missionary spirit. Pray for a great throng of the men that will endure hardness, and despise ease, wealth and honor for the Master's sake. Be encouraged by the fact that when God has a great work to be done, and stirs up his people to prayer, He is also wont to hear those prayers, and raise up the men for the work. Pray then, without ceasing; in the congregation, in the prayer-meeting, in the family, in the closet. Christian brother! however straitened elsewhere, here you have power and can prevail. Sister in Christ! besiege the throne of Him who once said, "O, woman, great is thy faith; be it unto thee even as thou wilt."

But there is a special duty resting upon pastors—to rouse

and guide the sentiment of the churches. Dear brother in the gospel ministry, you are a watchman. Have you, yourself, discerned the signs of the times? Have you looked over this vast opening field and this meager supply? Have you seriously contemplated your personal relation to this amazing crisis in our country's history, and to the immediate future? On you Christ enjoins it to enlighten, and impress, and rouse your flock. You are to lead the fervor of their prayers. You are to show them the greatness of the need. You are to awaken them to the cause of theological education. You are to secure their cheerful aid to the self-denying youth who have left all to follow Christ and preach the Gospel. You are to look round for the young men of piety and talent,—the goodliest of the flock,—and point them to the blessed work. Permit me to ask you, are you doing in this respect your whole duty? Are you fulfilling the function of a far-seeing and a faithful watchman, and showing yourself worthy to stand on the walls of Zion in this wonderful time? And remember that a special call comes to that body of churches which led the assault on slavery—whose cleaner record and simpler polity gives it special advantages for the regeneration of the land.

There is a duty devolving, too, on Christian parents—to dedicate and train their sons to this inviting, yet self-denying work. There was an era in this country when a great number of Christian mothers travailed a second time with the sons of their love. They solemnly offered them not alone to the general service of Christ, but to the special calling of the ministry. And the sons found their way straight to the sacred office. An eminent living preacher was asked whether at any stage of his training he had entertained a doubt about the choice of his calling. "Never the slightest," was the reply; "my mother booked me for the ministry." So the mother of Mills "booked" him for the ministry and the missionary work. Whole households of preachers have sometimes crowned the godly influence of the parents. Four sons of Leonard Worcester, seven sons of Dr. Scudder, all the sons of Lyman Beecher, found their way to the good work. The Junior Class at Andover in 1844-5 contained over forty members. From personal inquiry it was ascertained that more than three-fourths were children of pious parents, and that in a majority of cases the

leading influence which carried them to the ministry was the fact that they had been consecrated to it by their parents. Some said that but for this they should have turned aside to other pursuits.*

In the class of 1844 at Yale College was young M., the only son of his mother, and she a widow. He had talents, high social position, and every advantage for success in the legal profession, to which he looked forward. But even before his conversion his mother solemnly dedicated this choicest treasure of her heart to the work of the ministry. Yea, more; though it would involve a life of separation from her only child, she gave him to Christ for a Foreign Missionary. He was converted. Two weeks later she accompanied him to a Missionary meeting at Centre Church, New Haven, and during the service she lifted her heart in constant prayer that the Spirit of God would then make such impressions on his mind as would lead him voluntarily to the Missionary field. The prayer was heard. That night he resolved, if the way were opened, to enter in. In due time, before he had completed his Theological studies, an urgent call was addressed personally to him to go as a Teacher and Missionary to China, where for several years he labored with great fidelity and success, till he was called to his reward on high.

If we are to have a ministry in numbers and quality such as the age demands, this is the spirit that must fill the hearts of parents. Christian mother, will you not take home to yourself the duty of offering your sons to the ministry of reconciliation? Can you ask for a nobler work, a better reward? How many a godly mother, as she passed home to the Father's house, has had inexpressible satisfaction in feeling that her beloved son was engaged in that best of all human labors. Would you not rather in your last hours think of your child as the herald of eternal life, leading a goodly company to heaven, than as loaded with a wealth which was weighing down his heart to earth, and perhaps to hell? Remember too, how God is now *taking* on the battlefields many a bloody sacrifice—many a son and brother that was never given up to him. And how sad is the thought that these hundreds of thousands of victims might have

*This statement was furnished by a member of the class; as also was the following case.

been spared if but the hundredth part of them could have carried the whole gospel through the entire land. O, mother, if you have a beloved son still spared to you, will you not offer him to the blessed work which shall prevent such scenes of horror through all coming time? Come not with the poorest, but offer unto God the best.

And there comes home a great and solemn duty to the young men, too, to give themselves to this missionary work. The ranks of the ministry must be filled; it must be done chiefly by the educated young men. You, dear friends, are now the country's hope. There are more than a thousand of you in our Northern colleges who profess to have surrendered all to Christ, yet are not looking toward the ministry. Can it be that in this great emergency the Master has excused you, one and all, from preaching His gospel? Young brother, have you dealt fairly with the question? Perhaps you are rightfully exempted. But can any young man of talents and acquirements, in view of the pressing want, know himself to be exempted till he have taken the question prayerfully home to his conscience? We know one young graduate who, after a six months' conflict with his conscience in the study of the law, has just yielded to the urgent claims of the ministry. How many others are there who ought to do likewise? Where can you *now* make the most of yourself for Christ? That is the question for you deeply to ponder.

But let me not appeal to the bald claims of duty. Is there not something here to fire a holy ambition—something worthy of the best powers God ever gave to man? To plant and water true religion in the great moral Saharas of the country; to mould the young village, the embryo city, and the germinant commonwealth unto true prosperity and glory; to help shape the destinies of the greatest empire on earth in its critical hour, and thus to purify the central light of the nations; to deal with men in the highest of all their relations; to guide the young, counsel the mature, win men to God, and to stand up at last with a blessed company of souls saved by your labors,—what is there to compare with such a work as this? Viewed from heaven—viewed at the close of life—viewed by the calm reason anywhere and always—does it not far overtop all other human employments? Can man or angel be above

it? What is there in the sale of merchandize, the management of legal strifes, or even the healing of bodily disease, to compare with it? And how infinitely does it lift a man above the epicures of literature, the swarm of short-lived notorieties, and the ignoble herd of the merely rich? And if it require toil and hardship, what work on earth that is great and good does not? If it be invested with trials, what human employment is so entwined with the purest sympathies and tenderest ties, and so crowned with the highest of joys?

And is there not a duty, too, pressing upon the intelligent laymen of the church, greatly to enlarge the sphere of their activity? When the hand of violence once swept over Judea, it was not the apostles alone, but the brethren, who "went everywhere preaching the word." Stephen, the martyr, and Philip, the Evangelist were set apart to "serve tables;" but they magnified their office. Are not the lay members of our churches imperiously summoned to a far greater activity? May not the chief care of many feeble and destitute churches be thrown upon their hands? Are there not among them many men of competent education, of practical wisdom and efficiency, and of fervent zeal, who with some special training might soon be ready to enter this great harvest field and render the very best of service? Are not Stephen and Phillip again summoned to preach the Word?

THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION.

AN

ADDRESS,

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

AMERICAN EDUCATION SOCIETY,

AT THE

ANNIVERSARY MEETING IN BOSTON,

MAY 30, 1865.

BY EDWARDS A. PARK, D. D.

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A D D R E S S .

SEVERAL years ago, a Scotch pastor, being asked by a merchant : " What is the amount of your ministerial work," replied : " In the first place, I write every year what, if printed, would fill two octavo volumes as large as any man who devotes himself to authorship would think of composing in the same time ; secondly, I speak as much every year as a lawyer in good practice speaks at the bar ; thirdly, I spend as many hours in making and receiving professional visits as are spent by an ordinary physician." The merchant answered, " None of us would do half your work for four times your pay." A minister does not preach for the sake of getting pay ; neither does a bird fly in the air for the sake of getting wings ; still a minister must have money or he cannot live to preach, as a bird must have wings or it cannot mount the air. The greatest things depend on the smallest. Milton's *Paradise Lost* could not have been written without food.

A clergyman in Wales was appointed by an ordaining council to address the people who had impoverished their former pastor, and were now to receive a new one. He recommended in his address, that Jacob's ladder be let down from the skies to that Welch parish, in order that the new minister might " go into heaven on the Sabbath evening after preaching, and remain there all the week ; then he would come down every Sabbath morning so spiritually minded, and so full of heaven, that he would preach almost like an angel." Now the people insisted on having their pastor with them on other days than the Sabbath. " That may be," replied the speaker ; " *but then*, if he

remain among you, he must have something to eat." The dignity of the angels was not inconsistent with their ascending and descending on a wooden ladder ; and one ladder on which our ministering angels may go up to their heavenly studies is such a material sustenance as will make it unnecessary for them to grovel in the earth.

So if our candidates for the ministry be held down by cares in regard to their daily bread, they will not rise to communion with celestial thought. It has been said of one man, that he spent all his time at a Theological Seminary in getting up early in the morning. It may be said of more than one man, that he sacrificed his education to the means of obtaining it ; he spent his study hours in earning money for his board. Many a young man will shrink from entering the sacred office, if while preparing for it, he must neglect his mind in providing for his body ; and if when in the office, he must perform the duties of a pastor to the people, and also the duties of a people to the pastor, breaking to them the bread of life, and getting for himself the bread which they ought to give him. Some young men will persevere through such obstacles, and will break down their constitutions in combining hard work of the body with hard work of the mind ; spending their fresh energies on their books, and seeking their only recreation in sawing wood or carrying on a trade. The most promising scholar whom I ever knew, lost his health and his life by attempting to pay his debts while he was pursuing his studies. If he could have obtained a few hundred dollars from benevolent men, they might have preserved to the church an ornament more precious than silver and gold.

In the year 1854, the Society for the Relief of Aged and Destitute Clergymen appointed a Committee for collecting information in regard to the salaries of ministers in New England. The published Report of this Committee exhibits "the opinions of at least fifteen hundred clergymen," and draws out the two following, among other, inferences : "Precarious and incompetent support prevents many young men of talent and character from entering the sacred profession ;" "The high Christian scholarship, so imperiously demanded by the new wants of the nineteenth century, will not be likely to appear under existing

discouragements." The American Education Society was formed in order to render it possible for one class, and in some particulars the best class, of students to prepare themselves for the ministry; in order to save them from becoming life-long invalids, while they are thus preparing themselves; in order to assist them in fulfilling the great aim of a theological education. The Society is founded on the principle, that this great aim is *not* to make ministers frugal in their habit of life. Rigid economy is indeed a virtue, but it may be too expensive. It may be gained at the cost of mental and the higher moral discipline. The great aim of a theological education is *not* to teach ministers how they may combine with their professional cares the arts of gaining money, and thus eking out their salary. These arts are good in their own sphere, but, like Pharaoh's lean kine, will be apt to eat up richer and fuller arts than they. The great aim of a theological education *is* to expand the scholar's thoughts upon something larger than his own purse. As one starts in a course, so one is apt to go forward in it; and if the earlier impulse be in a wrong line, the later movement will be further and further from the right point. It is then a momentous inquiry, and to this let us now address ourselves: **WHAT IS THE AIM OF A THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION.**

I. One aim of a theological education is, to awaken the preacher's intellectual interest in the doctrines of the Gospel. Some of these doctrines were made for man; some of them were not made for man, but man was made for them; all of them are adapted to his intellect as the atmosphere is fitted to his lungs. He might as safely tie up one lobe of his lungs, as shut out any one doctrine from his mind. The soul breathes the more freely, when all its powers inhale all the truths of which it is said, "they are spirit; they are life." If these truths are not in some way received by the intellect, they are not in any way accepted by the will. The mind is the door to the heart. It is the human Logos. A minister of the Gospel must be, therefore, an intellectual man in the highest sense of that term; the sense of keeping his intellect not merely inquisitive, but inquisitive for the truth; not prurient for what is novel, but intent on what is right and eternal; not hankering

after an artificial stimulus, but enjoying the food that nourishes the soul. By prolonged toil must he discipline himself to think precisely, else he will not define the truths of religion rightly; and immortal souls have been lost in consequence of a wrong definition. He must sharpen his intellect, so as to distinguish things that differ; for some of the most impassioned controversies of the day arise from confounding revelation with inspiration, grace with mercy, chastisement with punishment, atonement with redemption, holiness with goodness, sin with evil, penitence with humility. He must widen his intellect, so as to place together various truths, and not place one where it must crowd out a more fitting one. It is not the single doctrine alone, it is the system of doctrines, which must attract the gaze of the spiritual astronomer, one truth revolving with other truths around a distant luminary, and one constellation of truths revolving with other constellations around the mysterious, attractive centre. By a prolonged effort must the preacher wake his mind up to an enthusiasm in sacred science, so that he may originate for himself what he utters, even although it may have been originated a thousand times before. He learns to use words that quiver with vitality, when he discovers what perhaps other men had seen. He gains a certain life and spring of utterance from having invented what had been perhaps found out already. His ideas must be fresh, in order to be refreshing; therefore must they well up from his own mind, just as if the like ideas had never gushed from any other mind,—the mind being a fountain, not a mere reservoir. A true sermon cannot be composed; it must be like the poet, born not made; and when preached the second time, it cannot be taken up as an adopted child, but must be born the second time, with pains and labor, in the image of the mind that is its mother; so will the sermon be a breathing, growing power. The intellect of the minister must be hospitable to truth, reverent toward the truth; so that he may not put wrong thoughts into his sermon, for wrong thoughts are the work of man; so that he may not put his own eccentricities into his sermon, for these eccentricities are the sidelong movements of man; so that he *may* put into his sermon those thoughts which are conformed to the laws of his intellect; thus will he put into his sermon that nature which

he received from God, and which is sanctified by the Spirit of God. It is this right nature that stirs men to a right sympathy; for He who made all men of one blood, gave to all minds the same laws, and so far forth as any mind obeys its laws, it unfolds the nature of mind, and other minds respond to this nature, as face answereth to face; for God is in this nature, and moves men by it. He does not work by human artifice, not by human affectations of thinking, but he works by himself, and by the forces which he contrives. The right intellect of a man is individual, but is also impersonal; it is a man's own, but the same essence of it belongs to every other man also; more than all and first of all, it is God's; and so far forth as the minister puts this right reason into his sermons, he speaks not as a mere man, but as a man sent from Jehovah. He does not say: 'This is what I am inclined to think; this is what a Synod of men has sanctioned;' but, 'This is reasonable, and what is reasonable is kingly, and he who despises what is proved, despises not man but God; he that believeth shall have peace, he that believeth not shall be at war with himself.' An intellect mighty in the Scriptures, and kindred with the divine intellect, makes a sermon like an electric wire vibrating with an influence from above, and conducting to the hearers the light and the heat of a higher sphere. The Saviour of men was an intellectual preacher. He stimulated thought. He awakened curiosity. He startled men to inquire: "How can these things be?" He excited men to grapple with his words, and at length to say: "Declare unto us this parable." Men did not sit at their ease when he preached. They worked on his great ideas. They tasked themselves to grasp his meaning, and revolve what he had thrown before them. He stood above his hearers. He dropped seed down into their minds. These minds acted on the seed in darkness for a time; but still acted; and, when the time was fulfilled, the seed swelled out, and grew up, and bore fruit; and after he was glorified, his disciples remembered his words, and wondered at their germinating power.

But it is said, that if a pastor be intellectual, he will neglect his outward duties. No. He performs them better, if he add to them severe mental toil. Such toil is the rolling of the water-wheel for the machinery above it.

If he be intellectual, he will become a theological wrangler, it is said. No. If a minister will keep himself familiar with the profoundest works on Logic and Psychology, familiar with theological treatises like those of Calvin and Zwingli and Melancthon and Cudworth and Julius Müller and Dorner, familiar with the idioms and the genius of the Hebrew language and the peculiarities of the Aramæan Greek, he will have as little inclination as he will find time to stand at the corners of the streets, and put a chip on his shoulder, and keep his fist clenched for a fight. A theological fight, as distinguished from a theological discussion, results from a famished intellect. The old oriental inquiry was : "Does the wild ass bray when he hath grass ?"

It is said, that if ministers be intellectual they will become ambitious. There is more danger of their becoming ambitious, if they be not intellectual. One of the dying words of Schleiermacher was : "I feel constrained to think the profoundest speculative thoughts, and they are to me identical with the deepest religious feelings." That man is humbled and chastened who bends himself to the question : "What is truth ?" For, truth dwells in the temple which unbars its doors to none but men walking softly, and stooping low. For, the truth is God himself, and he makes the meek spirit his temple. "I am the truth," says Jehovah incarnate. The student, for example, who meditates on the decrees of an Infinite Sovereign, and on that universal Providence which carries those decrees out so that not one of them shall fail in one iota, nor interfere with the free choice of men, which is an image of the free choice of God,—such a student learns the littleness of all creatures, and the paltriness of all earthly distinctions ; and because he catches a glimpse of the bush lighted up, he says : "I will now turn aside and see this great sight," and in that flame he sees God, and hears the words, "The place whereon thou standest is holy ground. And Moses hid his face, for he was afraid to look upon God ;" for God dwelleth in the light, and in him is no darkness at all.

But it is said : If a minister be an intellectual man, he will be tempted to write great sermons. What are great sermons ? They are sermons filled with great doctrines. A sermon truly doctrinal is truly great. There is no little discourse, but that

which contains little truth. The vulgar phraseology of the day may be paraphrased thus: 'Bring nothing great into the pulpit, but only such themes as the lambs of the flock may comprehend; simply such themes as the Omnipotence and Omniscience and Omnipresence and Eternity of Jehovah, but nothing great; merely the Infinite Wisdom expanding itself in the infinite scheme of Redemption which the angels desire to look into; nothing more than this; nothing higher than this; nothing great.'

Still it is rejoined: The intellectual preacher will be obscure, and his discourses will not be adapted to the people. There are more obscure sermons preached by men who have but little, than by men who have much, intellectual interest in the truth. The vast majority of sermons which do not meet the sympathies of the hearers, are spoken by untutored men. Some discourses are inappropriate, because there is too much thought in them; but more discourses are inappropriate, because there is too little thought in them. An intellectual minister will accommodate himself to his inferiors, better than an unintellectual minister will accommodate himself to his superiors.

Yet it is replied: If preachers be intellectual, they will be abstract and cold. Now it is thought which elicits feeling, strong thought elicits strong feeling. A true intellect rouses a right heart, as the heaving ground agitates the forest. Faith is not credulity. It is nurtured by evidence. Religious emotion, not called forth by doctrine, nor corresponding with it, is fanaticism. Doctrine is to be preached practically, and practice is to be preached doctrinally. A pure heart saves the preacher from becoming a cold philosopher, and a sound philosophy saves him from becoming a wild enthusiast.

After all, it is said, there is a peril in an intellectual ministry. Peril! indeed there is; but the greater peril of our land is in the want of an intellectual ministry. Our citizens are independent sovereigns; and if governed at all, must be influenced by mind; and will not be controlled by mind, unless it be the mind consecrated to the church, which is the school of Christ. We need a revival of reverence for proof; else the bowie knife will be employed instead of proof. We must have a quickened veneration for argument; else the revolver will be substi-

tuted for argument. With us it is either the bludgeon or a logical faith ; the pulpit must decide which. Peril in an intellectual ministry ! indeed there is ; but we are not called to sound so loud and emphatic an alarm on this as on the opposite danger. It is not true, that our city pulpits are overrun with Jeromes and Augustines and Bernards, and our country pulpits over-crowded with Turretins and Gomars and Van Mastrichts, and our manufacturing villages infested with swarms of Bradwardines and Thomas Aquinases and Duns Scotuses. There is yet a respectable class of our theological students, who remain innocent of this preponderating intellect ; and our theological professors have something more stringent to do, than to prune away either their own, or their pupils' excessive luxuriance of genius. Peril in an intellectual ministry ! indeed there is, but so there is peril in what is called a popular ministry. The impassioned exhorter may burn out his energies in enforcing on others a duty, which he loses strength to enforce on his own tumultuous spirit. The biographer of John Angel James has well described the "terrible and constant temptations" of a fervid preacher "to utter more than his heart feels, and thus to deceive and corrupt himself." Peril ! there is peril before us and behind us, at the right hand of us and at the left hand of us, and all around us, and beneath us, and everywhere except above us ; in a high intellect and in a low one ; a bright mind and a stupid one. This is our probation. This is the disaster resulting from the fall of Adam. Devoid of holiness as all men are by nature, sanctified but in part as the best of men are by grace, no man, no clergyman is safe, except in that Sovereign who environs us with temptations in order that we may gather strength from resisting them, and lets the right path be thick strewn with snares, in order that we may learn caution in stepping over them, and threading our way around them. If there were no dangers in life, God would not be our refuge.

II. One aim of a theological education is, to store the mind with extensive knowledge, and enrich it with a varied culture. There may be an ample capacity without a copious furniture. We need both. We need men of *learning* as well as of intellect, in order to clothe the pastorate with a scientific as well as moral

dignity. Young men are refusing to enter the clerical office, because it seems to afford no scope for literary enterprise. Other spheres of action promise to them a richer reward for study. Youthful scholars like Moses Stuart were disabused of this prejudice by the consecrated learning of President Dwight, and scores of strong men were attracted into the ministry by the literary treasures of Professor Stuart. The names of such men are a centripetal force, drawing collegiate students into the light. The clerical influence of our Puritan fathers was augmented by the fact, that they were known to have amassed extensive knowledge. They verified the maxim of Lord Bacon, that if a man would obtain a clear view of his own field, he must ascend some eminence adjoining it. The people looked up to their pastor, who understood the science of their own handicraft better than they understood it themselves. Ministers who speak the language of Canaan, borrow authority for their sermons from the fact, that they are skilled in all the learning of Egypt.

But there is not merely an adventitious power derived by ministers from their wealth of knowledge, there is also a real power in defending the truths of the Gospel. Science is suggesting new objections to these truths. Some of what were called the impregnable fortresses of doctrine, will not stand before the iron monitors of modern controversy. Geological researches are often found to weaken the faith which they do not undermine ; and we cannot now attempt to reconcile the Bible with these researches on the same principles which satisfied Dr. John Pye Smith. Minds which are not conscious of a disbelief in the doctrine of eternal punishment, still harbor a secret unbelief in it ; and it were unwise now to defend the truth as it was defended by the younger Edwards. Many who do not deny that the Bible is inspired of Heaven, will doubt whether it be inspired ; and we cannot remove these doubts by reasoning as Dick and Parry and Carson reasoned. Nothing is easier than to say, that all the new arguments against the truth are mere repetitions of what has been already refuted ; and that errors, like race horses, are running around in the same circle which was run around in former times. The phases of the objections are changed. The forms of the replies must be

new. These objections coming from men of science, are now diffused among the people. Treatises written for German philosophers are translated for American mechanics. The thoughts of German Pantheists are distilled into American essays and poems. The reverence of men for the truth is imperiled by the skeptical inquiries into even the human virtues of our Redeemer. The assaults upon the truth will probably become more and more frequent and ingenious. Foreigners have come to our shores at the rate of a thousand every day, and will come at a more fearful rate. An unprecedented number of them will be well-trained scholars. Many of them will be Neologists, Pantheists, Atheists. In this home of free thought and free speech, they will have influence. This influence must be resisted not by men who *declaim* against, but by men who *reason* against Neology, Pantheism, Atheism. Our youthful clergymen must be trained not to make a noise about these errors—"a bishop must be apt to teach, no striker, no brawler"—but to *understand* these errors, and to meet them as Greek meets Greek.

The superficial reply is: These objections come from the heart, and cannot be driven back by the intellect. So do all objections against the truth come from the heart; shall we, therefore, let them come out and roam at large at their own will? Are all the labors of Augustine, and Calvin, and Owen, in Christian Polemics and Apologetics of no use, because the errors which they combated arose from a sinful will? Out of the heart do come all heresies; but some of them will not come out, if they are to be at once overcome. One reason why objectors embolden themselves against the truth, is their suspicion that the clergy are unable to defend the truth. The fact that we are well armed often prevents the necessity of using our weapons. If we would preserve the peace, we must be prepared for war. There is a kind of indefinite surmising, that in the arsenals of transatlantic science, lie weapons which few can use, and none can resist; and therefore men who are themselves unable to disprove the truth, harbor a comfortable hope that it has been disproved, or can be disproved, and, in some way or other, they cannot tell what way, all will be at last well with the wicked.

At the present time ministers need treasures of knowledge, not only in defending the truth, but also in making it attractive. It must be made attractive ; for it must not remain true, as it is now true, that the larger part of our countrymen habitually absent themselves from the house of God. The surest method of inducing men to frequent the sanctuary, is that of exhibiting the facts and principles of the Gospel according to the laws of the human mind. Our fathers exhibited the truth in a style adapted to their day. But the same style is not adapted to the present day. Every age has its own methods of thought. Our school-boys are learning sciences of which our ancestors never dreamed. The taste of the populace is refined and enriched by arts unknown to the universities of former times. The student must begin his work early, and tarry at it long, if he would learn the fitnesses of doctrine, as now proved and now illustrated, to move the mind of men, as it is now stored with ideas and made sensitive and delicate by culture. Unless the pastor adapt his methods of thought to the existing state of his hearers' sensibilities, he works against the laws which God has made. These laws God will honor. The neglect of them God will not honor. We have no more reason to expect, that he will bless the ministry which sets at defiance the mental forces ordained of heaven, than that he will bless the mechanic who uses the lever and the screw in defiance of the principles on which the lever and the screw act. The preacher can do nothing without God, but so far forth as he is a co-worker with God, he has power, not indeed his own, but divine. He who made the forces of nature, made them to be helpers of man, and if we comply with the methods in which these forces work, we are amazed at their results. We put up our wires on the top of poles over which the lightning travels, as our post-boy, to carry our mails for us. We weave our cotton and wool on grounds, where we employ the law of gravitation, as a spinster, to turn our wheels for us. Those were shrewd men of Boston, who, if they had been trained theologians, would have been wise men ; for they erected their grist-mills on a spot where the moving tides rolled the machinery around, and thus they made use of the moon, as a miller, to grind their corn. Still more if a *minister* devoutly comply with the laws of mind, may he em-

ploy them as the winds to be his messengers, and as the lightning to be his servants. But if he utter the truth with affected tones, prim, finical gestures, or in any indolent, or inflated, or unfeeling method, and then complain that his hearers are inattentive because they are totally depraved, his complaint is ungraceful, for his elocution is totally corrupt. If he fill his sermons with truisms, vapid exhortations, incoherent thoughts, and then say that the pews are empty because those who ought to be in them are sinners by nature, he makes a one-sided statement, for he is lazy by nature, and has not schooled himself in learning and obeying the laws of the human soul. If he will raise the spiritual building, he must study the fitnesses of the tenon to the mortice.

He may practice on himself a selfish flattery by pleading, that the truths of Calvinism are distasteful and therefore he fails to gain the attention of men. The revelations of the day of judgment will be distasteful; but men will attend to them. It is not merely because a man's message is agreeable, that men will flock to hear him. They will go into the sanctuary, because they fear to stay out of it. They will throng the house of God, because they stand in awe of its teachings. They will listen, because their intellect calls for truth; because their conscience calls for truth; because they have a fearful looking-for of judgment; because they are stirred by a hope that the sovereignty of God will meet them and help them, as they exclaim, "How dreadful is this place." The system of Calvinism is the truth adapted to the reason, and the imagination, and the moral sense, and the reverence for what is great, and the awe for what is majestic, and the admiration for what is sublime, and the fear for what is terrific against wrong, and the hope for what is mighty to save. Men will travel far to see the awful cliff, which makes them tremble in view of their own littleness. They will toil in clambering up to the brink of a precipice, which startles them by revealing their imminent peril. They will linger shuddering over the cataract; they will force their way under the deafening fall of the waters; they will wander darkling through caverns, where all they see is monstrous, and all they hear is unearthly. So men will gaze and admire, even when they hate the truth, if it be held out in conformity

with its laws, and the laws of the soul, all of which are laws of Jehovah. But the doctrines of Calvinism are not popular! Is the ocean in a storm popular? Is the thunder-cloud on the peak of a mountain popular? Are the tragedies over which men weep with quivering muscle, popular? It is an aphorism, "Men love to cry, and hate to think." This would not have become a maxim, unless there were truth in it. Men who have no holiness, have a strange longing for that which quickens their remorse. There is another and opposite aphorism: "Men love to think, and hate to feel." *This* would not have become a maxim, unless there were truth in it. Men who have no holiness, have an instinct of knowledge, an instinct of reasoning, an instinct of grappling with the eternal verities for which their minds were created. "We will never hear John Bunyan preach as long as we live;" that was the remark made by men as they left his plain chapel; and they uttered the same threat as they left the same chapel on the next Sabbath; and one reason why they heard him the second time was; they were excited enough to threaten that they never *would* hear him again as long as they lived. But men will not come into the temple of worship unless they can see the beautiful vestments of the priest, and be soothed by the chants of hired minstrels! And is not the robe of a Saviour's righteousness alluring? And is not the atonement of Jesus like a melting anthem? "And I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men unto me;" for there is a supernatural grace that works with and in and on the natural laws.

But men will not bear this everlasting doctrine and this unintermitting logic! We do not ask them to bear it; for, the truths of the Bible are enwreathed with incidents which God has adapted to the imagination and taste of men; and the preacher who has familiarized himself with the countries and the cities and the woods and the roads, the domestic usages and the personal experiences, which are described or intimated in the Bible, may give to his sermons the enchantment of an oriental garden redolent with the fragrance of the spices, and resonant with the music of the birds.

And here is suggested a supplemental reason for giving to our ministers a rich and varied culture: They should learn to

clothe the facts and principles of the gospel with the attractions of the fine arts. By severe study, they should educate themselves to superintend and control the religious use of these arts. They must be spiritual philosophers, to detect the line beyond which these arts must not show themselves. There is a certain boundary, on the wrong side of which art makes the impression of artifice, sentiment yields to sentimentalism, the symbol attracts more notice than the truth symbolized. There must be an appeal to the senses in the sanctuary; but there must be an æsthetic culture in the ministers, to prevent this appeal from being carried too far. During a pedestrian excursion with a German divine, who, while honored by the public for his brilliant learning, draws his friends around him in private by his ironical method of reasoning, he remarked to me: "The Puritans were one-sided in their addresses to human nature. They made their Sabbath services too intellectual and subjective, not sufficiently artistic and objective. They forgot that the physical senses affect the heart. They should have aimed to enkindle devotion by candles burning on the altar near the silver crucifix; to have aroused the slumbering piety by the stirring trumpet, the solemn drum, the full and loud orchestra. Not only the sense of seeing and the sense of hearing, but also the sense of smell should be made to quicken the religious spirit; and the expressive incense should perfume the temple of the Christians as it did that of the Jews. The physical sense of taste, likewise, has an influence on the heart. How suddenly an emotion of gratitude is excited by tasting the ripe fruits of summer! And in the season of these fruits why should we not use them, as we use flowers in the sanctuary, and circulate the apricot and peach through the aisles and pews as symbols of the divine goodness, and let the indigent worshipers *taste* as well as *see* these fragrant specimens of the bounty of heaven." The moral of these remarks was designed to be, that ministers must familiarize themselves with the philosophy of art, in order to avoid extremes in admitting or excluding the appeal to the physical senses. The Puritan worship, more than the Catholic, demands this philosophy; for it demands the finest of all arts, that of an elocution which is nature perfected, and which God has ordained for his worship. The minister himself must be

trained, so that his hearers will need no picture in oil, no statue of marble ; but he must be a breathing picture of the gospel, a moving, thrilling statue, bodying forth all phases of right sentiment. We *must* have symbols of truth in the sanctuary ; but the most expressive symbols are those which God has fearfully and wonderfully made : they are the tones and gestures of the speaker who has learned to develope the powers which his Maker has placed in the countenance, the hands, the vocal organs. The Puritan worship demands the art of extemporaneous yet accurate speech, expressing solid, well-ordered, yet fresh, out-gushing thought ; an art which requires more discipline than any other from the human artist, and when fairly attained is the most amazing development of the divine skill on earth, developing at once the noblest faculties of the body and the soul of the speaker and the hearer. The Puritan worship demands an art of song, which will animate devotion, and will at the same time be devotion ; an art which the pastor must understand, and must excite the children of his parish to cultivate. We would address the *ear* in the sanctuary, not by such *music* as flatters economical men with the notion that they can enjoy just as fine a display at the church as at the opera, and avoid paying for an opera ticket ; not by such *music* as prompts the worshipers to inquire, " Was not that piece well executed ? " " Was not that a skillful performance ? " not by such *music* as sends men home conversing about the *interludes* of the organ, rather than thinking about the sentiments which lay hidden between the interludes ; but by such *Psalmody* as will not obtrude itself for criticism ; such as is the voice of the prayer of the congregation. We would address the *eye* in the sanctuary, not by massive pillars which stand between the preacher and his hearers, and hide them from each other ; not by lofty walls which drown articulate speech in an unintelligible echo ; but by such a style of architecture as gives a distinct, definite sound to the speaker's voice, and predisposes men to cherish the faith which " cometh by hearing ; " such a style of architecture as will not make the sanctuary a cathedral on the one hand, nor a lyceum lecture-room on the other hand ; but a sacred place, peculiar, set apart, still a place *fitted for man as man* ; and therefore giving to the speaker and the hearer pure air, as a symbol

and a means of pure instruction ; admitting the light of heaven, which is a symbol of spiritual light, and enables the hearers to commune with their preacher, to carry on a dialogue with him, they seeing his eye, and he discerning whether they be awake or asleep, doubting or believing, resisting his message or trying to understand it ; so may he speak to them the word in season. A dim religious light is in good taste for a mausoleum ; a clear, evangelical light is in keeping with the worship of Him who is honored not by mysticism and hazy sentimentalism, but by clear thought and unstained principle. The perfection of art in the sanctuary is to make all its forms elastic, so that they will bend with the turning course of Providence, with the winding of right sentiment. Where there is parade in worship, there is no true art ; where the fresh love of the soul is not expressed in free utterance, where a stiff rubric rules out the appropriate words, there is no true art. Where the temple of truth is hidden under and behind the scaffolding of it, there art has only begun its work and not been able to finish.

Shall we introduce a liturgical and ceremonial worship into our Puritan churches ? We can make these churches more attractive by introducing new lectureships into our Theological Seminaries, for drilling our candidates in the art of sacred speech and religious song ; for explaining the principles not so much of the Grecian or the Gothic as the *rational* style of church architecture ; for cultivating a more glowing interest in the poetry of Isaiah and Jeremiah, in the eloquence of Paul and John, in the beauties of nature as shadowing out the beauties of the Bible. We should qualify our young men to be "*masters of arts*," all arts and all sciences which may render our church-service more attractive while it remains appropriate, more dignified while it remains elastic, more comely and expressive while it remains chaste and flexible. The surest method of forming the taste of the people for something higher than a ceremonial worship is, to educate a ministry which will frame right thoughts *about* God and man, will cherish right feelings *toward* God and man, will express these thoughts and feelings in the right way *to* God and man. There is more of the philosophy of art developed in a religious service conducted by George Whitefield than in a Romish cathedral. If any man

will always speak the right word with the right tone—if, rhetorically as well as morally, *“any man offend not in word—the same is a perfect man.”*

And here is suggested another supplemental reason for giving to our ministers an ample and varied culture. They must learn to make the truth attractive by interweaving it with the interests of daily life. The church is to be an orchard of growing fruits, rather than a storehouse of “dried sweetmeats in glass jars.” It is not the place for what men call a body of divinity which is shriveled up like an Egyptian mummy, but for one which *is*, as well as *was*, alive with a soul. William Humboldt styled eloquence “the attaching a composition to the life of the people.” The Commercial Discourses of Dr. Chalmers are an illustration of the sacred eloquence which circulates like the blood through the heart of the business community. Ever since the commencement of the Christian era, men have been drawn into the sanctuary by the hope of learning their duties to the State. Laws, like those in regard to public schools, lotteries, gaming-houses, slavery, treason, intemperance, blasphemy, the violation of the Sabbath, are founded on certain departments of theology. These departments cannot be touched without stirring great political questions, more than the tides of the sea can flow and ebb without raising and sinking the ships that float over it. If a minister would bring his services into sympathy with the affairs of the household, and of the town, and of the nation, he must understand the principles of civil law, of constitutional government, of political economy, of the trades and professions of human nature. He must have that finest of disciplines, which will make him sensitive to the fitnesses of times and places, to the proprieties of his calling, to the art of giving his pulpit a wide reach and still keeping it sacred. He must know enough not to raise secular themes into a prominence above the evangelical system, not to discourse on them so often that his hearers shall enter the sanctuary with the habitual expectation of hearing a sermon on railroads, or mechanics’ fairs, or the sanitary regulations of a city, or the cultivation of the grape, the apple, or tobacco. He should make his auditors habitually expect to be addressed on such truths as the atone-

ment, and regeneration, and should thus make the simple Gospel stand out above the illustrations of it. He should never preach on the *details* of politics, as separate from the religious *principle* which ought to pervade them. It is a question for the pulpit, whether great malefactors should be punished with death ; it is not a question for the pulpit, whether the man called Robert E. Lee should be led to the gallows. It is a question for the pulpit, whether pious men should vote for civil rulers ; it is not a question for the pulpit, whether they should vote for the person named George B. McClellan. The minister must learn the fitting boundaries of the pulpit, so that he may not raise questions which there is no time to settle during the sanctuary service. We may pull an ox out of the mire on the Sabbath day, but not when the ox is too large, and the mire too deep. The pastor should not introduce secular duties as the *theme* of his sermons, but as *exemplifying* the Christian principle which is his only theme, and which ought to animate all secular duties. He must learn the Sabbath style of treating week day concerns ; the sanctuary method of discussing the affairs of the counting-room. The dress of a minister is not like that of a sailor, and the attire of his discourses is not like that of stump speeches, and his words should never be clap-traps. He must be educated to *feel* the difference between a sermon on the tariff and free trade as a means of State-policy, and a sermon on the law of benevolence as illustrated in the tariff and free trade. He must acquire such a control over business-ethics, that he will never discourse on them without the primary and immediate intent of making his own hearers more spiritual thereby. If he aim to affect the minds of men outside of his own house of worship, he must aim to affect them through the quickened piety of those who listen to him in that house. He has not learned to master the affairs of secular life, but he is overmastered by them, if he speak like a member of Congress for *distant readers*, and not for *present auditors* ; with the aim of carrying an election by an indiscriminate appeal, and not of making his own hearers more evangelical in their efforts for the election ; with the design of sustaining the government against treason, and without the design of making his hearers more devout in the suppression of treason. The minister must sharpen his discernment, so as to

detect the difference between a plea for money in aid of a Freedmen's College, or Home Missions, or Foreign Missions, as a distant enterprise, and a plea intended to improve the character of his hearers *in* their act, and *through* their act of contributing this money. He should study himself and his auditors, so that he may not discuss the questions of mercantile or political life, unless he be certain that he understands them, and is competent to make himself understood in regard to them.

The want of this symmetrical training may not in ordinary times be recognized as a great evil, but there are times in which it is seen to be a chasm letting the waters of desolation through the walls of the church. It were ungracious to suspect, that our Southern clergy are not pious men ; it were more charitable to say that through ignorance they did it ; but they have done it. They have conversed in favor of rebellion, they have preached in favor of it, they have prayed for it, some of them have fought for it ; before it commenced, many of them pledged themselves to sustain it ; while it raged, they instigated their hearers to enlist in it, and were among the noisiest to cry "havoc and let slip the dogs of war." If they had understood the law of nations, and the structure of American society, and the full meaning of the command to obey magistrates, they would, we presume, have prevented this fratricidal uprising of their people. More than a half million of crippled men, more than a half million of slaughtered men, are now mementoes of the fact, that the instructors of the church were carried headlong by a few crafty politicians ; that men who ought to be leaders having eyes, were led by a few blinded malcontents ; that men who ought to be shepherds resisting the wolves in sheep's clothing, became like sheep in wolves' clothing. And it has been said, even by clergymen themselves, that if the pastors of New England had been pastors in the Southern Confederacy, they also would have sunk their office into this shame. Can it be so ? Are we all without understanding ? Then we must indeed give a new vitality to our Education Societies, and to all our schools for ministerial culture. We believe, that in these schools our candidates *should* be more thoroughly instructed in the relations of the pulpit to the State. But we do not believe, that the pastors of New England are so ill instructed now, as to flock in droves

along paths marked out for them by politicians. Our ministers have cherished independent thought and used untrammelled speech. They have not followed their statesmen. They have moved first. They have started trains of influence. Even the mild and sweet spirit of Lincoln whom they loved so well, has not stifled their voice in behalf of that justice which, though a terror to the few, is benevolence to the many. During this rebellion they may have erred here, in saying too much ; there, in saying too little ; but, on the whole, they have attracted into the sanctuary multitudes inquiring for the duty of the hour, and have made the impression, that if a man would cultivate a healthful interest in the concerns of the State, he must frequent the house of God. The American Education Society has brought forward into the ministry a score of men who would have been condemned by politicians for having originated the late war, if the war had not resulted in the triumph of freedom ; but now the war has resulted in the triumph of freedom, and our politicians do not remember these poor wise men.

III. Another aim of a theological education is, to form in the minister a spiritual habit of mind. He must cherish the active piety, devoting itself to the outward schemes of beneficence ; and must be marked by the meditative piety, delighting in the contemplation of all religious truth. He must be characterized by that peculiar type of meditative piety, which is termed *spiritual* and consists in the devout contemplation of the Great Spirit, for what He is more than for what He does, for His holy will more than for His physical glories ; of the human spirit, its sin more than its misery, the hatefulness of sin more than the results of it. It is this phase of piety, which prompts us to style the clergyman Reverend. A profoundly intellectual minister aims to enlarge his intellect mainly with the hope of its being crowned with an enlarged piety. He works in the groves and in the mines of oriental literature, not chiefly for his love of letters, but for the sake of coming like the wise men from the East bringing gold and frankincense and myrrh into the presence of the Redeemer. As in every other, so in the spiritual organism, the agencies play into each other, and as knowledge has its noblest use in enriching the piety, so piety

reacts upon knowledge and makes it broad and sound. It is the *spiritual* mind that acts as the magnet drawing to itself all needed learning ; for he who wills to do the will of God, wills to understand it, and brings his feelings into sympathy with it ; and our Friend in the heavens is like every other friend, unbosoming himself most fully to those who are nearest and dearest to him. We are amazed at the accurate judgment and the nice perceptions of the painter, who expresses many great thoughts in one delicate line ; now it is the pious love of his work which gives this fine genius to the minister, and he paints for eternity. We stand in wonder before the marble statue ; whence did the sculptor derive his patience, and strength of nerve, and insight of the power belonging to the slightest movement of his chisel ? He never would have gained this prophetic instinct, if he had not an enthusiasm for his art. The professional enthusiasm of the minister is holiness. His right hand will forget its cunning, before he will forget the truths that he loves ; and as his memory is quickened, so is his imagination enlivened by his communion with the infinite Mind ; and all his powers move harmonious ; and this harmony is in itself a power, lost in Adam, regained in Christ. Because his soul is consonant with the great truths for which his soul was made, he will persevere in his researches for these truths. This is one form of the Saint's Perseverance, for the righteous student "shall hold on his way." This is one form of the minister's Growth in Grace, and in the knowledge of his Lord ; for the path of the devout scholar "is as the shining light that shineth more and more unto the perfect day ;" "for there shall be no night *there*." In his old age, he will continue to bring forth fruit fresh and ripe for his people ; for, "because the preacher was wise, he *still* taught the people knowledge." We are sometimes appalled, when we think of the qualifications prescribed for a divine ; such a man is not to be found, we say ; such a man,—we might as well speak of iron wood as of such a *human divine* ; for no *body* can live under the labors of a *mind* that comes up to this standard ; it is all ideal. But, a minister's holy love of the truth is more transforming than the inspiration of the poet. It makes his toil a delight ; and when others seek repose, he mounts up with wings as an eagle. In the enthu-

siasm of this spiritual mind, he is raised above his fellow men, and they scarcely know him as their fellow, but he seems to be one of etherial mold, a man of God. A veteran soldier is amazed at the exploits himself performed when in the inspiration of battle ; and a true divine, when he receives the unction from the Holy One, whereby he knows all spiritual things, almost loses the knowledge of his former self, and, like the Apostle, says in a vague way : " I knew *a man* ;" what man did he know ? " I knew a man in Christ ;" who is he ? " I knew a man in Christ above fourteen years ago ;" where is he now ? " whether in the body I cannot tell, or out of the body I cannot tell, God knoweth ;" I knew " such a one caught up to the third heaven ;" I do not identify him by any name, but " I knew such a man, how that he heard unspeakable words ; of *such a one* will I glory, yet of myself I will not glory, but in mine infirmities ;" for " when I am weak then am I strong." " I can do all things through Christ that strengtheneth me."

Unless above himself
He can erect himself,
How mean a thing is man.

But the minister, above other men, must train his powers to rise above himself and the world, to walk in the Spirit, to walk with God. Such a spiritual mind comes not without a spiritual education. No rare excellence springs up without toil. In this land and this age, men are easily aroused to outward beneficence. Our external circumstances give us a bustling enterprise. But to retire within ourselves, to commune with our own heart and be still, to discipline our wills into a harmony with the truths of God, especially with those severer truths which awe the mind down ; this is the labor for Americans. Our young men are inspirited to widen the influence of right principle. This is good ; but therefore are they required to deepen the fountains of it ; for the width comes from the depth of religious principle, rather than the profound reach from the superficial extent. The structure of our society is to be formed anew. The character of our nation is to be recast. The clergy of the nineteenth, like the clergy of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, need the self-denial of Reformers. In our

own land, wickedness may display itself more than in other lands. Bad men may become more conspicuous, and their bad qualities may thrust themselves into a higher prominence. A free government opens the avenues to legislative bribery, commercial frauds, abusive and mendacious speech. Other nations are kept in order by military rule. Our standing army is the church militant. The leaders of the church are the conservators of popular decorum. But their authority lies in their spiritual mind ; and they have no power over men unless they have power with God. And as all ministers need the unselfish temper of their Lord, so above all do the Congregational ministers need it. We can not be held in our fitting place by a national church government. We cannot be reduced into outward propriety by forms and ceremonials. Our men of the greatest faults may make the loudest noise, and the tumult of their evil passions may drown the still small voice of their virtues. We have nothing to rely on but our character, fashioned by the teachings, and sustained by the grace of God. If we have not a more disciplined and consecrated nature than other sects, then we are more incompetent than they to mold the genius of the people. Our chief glory is, that we must have a spiritual mind or we are bereft of spiritual power. The divine right of Congregationalism is vested in its fitness to teach that our weakness is in ourselves and our strength is in God ; and unless we learn this lesson *by heart*, our peculiar faith is vain, our preaching is foolishness, and of all sects we are the most miserable.

IV. I will mention only one more aim of a theological education ; and this is, to make the recipient of it a practical minister of the gospel. Various elements go to make up a practical *man*. But what are the elements combining themselves in a practical *minister* of the gospel ? They are a good personal address, an ease in executive detail, a ready knowledge of the truth, a quick religious sympathy, and a tact in using them all for the sanctification of men. We are apt to raise the less essential of these elements above the more essential. Shall not a pastor learn to bow gracefully in the drawing-room, and to speak winningly at the dinner-table ? Shall he not be sagacious in reading the countenances, and adroit in managing the pecu-

liar humors of the men around him? Yes. But if he seek first the *accomplishments* of a practical character, he will be in danger of not seeking the real *substance* of it. If he look chiefly for the outward adornings, he will be in danger of not looking at all for the solid worth. The superficial graces should come, but they will come afterward with comparatively little care; the sound principles of the practical character will not come afterward; they must come first; they will not come almost of themselves; they must be worked for. The hard stone must be dug out of the deep earth; the outward polish may be easily added. The practical minister of the gospel must look into the foundations of customs which seem harmless at the surface; must stretch his thoughts forward to the distant sweep of movements which threaten no evil for the present. He must be an honest, lowly, prayerful student of the Bible, as its teachings are illustrated in the philosophy of mind, and the history of the world. During the last thirty years, the practical questions on which ministers have been called to exert an influence have been such as could not be answered by an ecclesiastical martinet; such questions as, 'What shall be done for the extinction of slavery?'—'for the suppression of intemperance?' And during the next thirty years, there will be practical questions demanding from our clergymen a science, a skill, and a spirit which will not spring up of their own accord out of doors; such questions as: 'What shall be the spiritual reconstruction of our Southern States?' 'What shall be done to elicit the peculiar genius, and to train the amiable instincts of our colored freedmen?' 'Shall we encourage them to vote at the polls, and sit in the chairs of the Senate?' To do the practical work which is now required of ministers, demands the considerate and inventive mind of workmen who are expert in handling the most delicate, as well as the most massive, instruments for reaching the most elastic, as well as the strongest, springs of human action.

But the question arises, Must all our ministers be thus highly educated? Shall we not also have some who are merely well-instructed? With those clergymen who have expanded their minds to grasp the more comprehensive theories of life, may

we not mingle those who are sensible rather than scientific? If we cannot do as well as we would, we must do as well as we can. One reason why we ought to raise our standard of education for some clergymen is, the necessity for their uniting in a brotherhood with other clergymen who can only attain a lower standard. One reason why our theological seminaries should be re-endowed, and their courses of instruction enriched is, that we may exalt the dignity of the clerical office, when that office is entered by men who will add to it more of practical tact than of intellectual elevation. It was the opinion of President Edwards, that if we ordain *any* pastors who have not a full collegiate training, we degrade the pastorate. We do so, if the number of such ministers be too large, if they be not associated with other ministers who are more variously disciplined, if our standard for the culture of these other ministers be not raised higher than it is now or ever has been. The exigencies of our land and of our day are inviting into the ministry young men who in ordinary circumstances should continue laymen; therefore should our theological schools enlarge their libraries, multiply their instructors, sharpen the stimulus to severe thought. Everywhere we should station lights; where we can, light-houses. There are scores of pious men, not young enough to go through a ten years' course of study, but young enough to prepare themselves for explaining the way of salvation to the four millions of our countrymen who have been ground down in ignorance, and been suddenly brought within the reach of our clergymen. There are scores of pious men in New England who have such a personal address, native shrewdness, prompt feeling, readiness in adapting themselves to emergencies, such a solid basis of character, that we may wisely train them for the sacred office, even although neither we nor they have the time or the means to train them thoroughly. Their preparatory course must be abridged, but they will work in fellowship with men whose preparatory course has been lengthened, and by this brotherhood our clergy will continue to be a royal priesthood.

Now the question arises, Where shall these practical workmen be trained? Let them be trained in our theological schools.

They need the stimulating influence of these schools. Men who prefer the private to the public system of clerical study, overlook one main design of the public system. This design is not to give ideas, but to arouse men to get ideas; not to put learning into men, but to inspire men to acquire learning; not to turn out ready-made pastors, but to excite students to make themselves ready for every good work. It is the impulse given by a theological school, which is one of its choicest gifts. This impulse does not come from the instructors alone, but from the contact of the pupils with each other; from the very genius of the place; from the atmosphere of its halls; from the association of ideas with the still lanes and the shady paths and the sacred groves surrounding it. So far forth as any school becomes what De Quincy calls "a dormitory of spiritual drones," it becomes a nuisance. If it can never breathe a new life into its pupils, it will, and it ought to, lose its own life.

But another question arises. Ought we not to institute a special school for the training of those who must be trained in a partial way? No. Beginning too late for a full course, let them not lose the benefit of communing with those who began earlier. Let them acquire a knowledge of themselves by knowing those brethren who are more lettered than they. Let fire be struck out by the contact of bodies so different as flint and steel.

But will not the conscious inferiority of the more extemporized preachers depress them? There is more danger of their being too much elated because they know something, than of their being too much humiliated because they do not know more.

But will not envy creep in between the two classes of students, the one class being often more respected by the erudite, the other class being often more popular with the masses? Ministers who are trained in the same school are less exposed to mutual envy, than ministers who are trained in different schools. It is communion with each other that makes friends, it is distance from each other that makes enemies, of good men. "I hate them," said Charles Lamb, "because I do not know them." In this land and in this age, the less learned need not

be envious of the more learned. Abraham Lincoln had no occasion to dread the literature of Edward Everett. Andrew Johnson need not fear the erudition of Secretary Seward. In this democratic land and this levelling age, the minister who has sound health and a strong voice and inbred sagacity and business tact, need not be jealous of his brother who has grown pale over the Hebrew accents, and the differential calculus.

But will the instructions appropriate for the well-disciplined student, be equally appropriate for the ill-disciplined? Yes, in some respects; no, in other respects. And where the course of study in a school is not apposite to one order of its pupils, let a special course of study be introduced into that school, rather than a special school be instituted. It is far more consonant with the spirit of all good learning, to found one or two professorships for a particular class of pupils in an old seminary, than to found a new seminary for that particular class. In the former case, we merely institute one or two offices, and add them to all the other offices, and to the whole apparatus of study which are of common benefit; in the latter case, we erect new buildings, gather a new library, institute an entire system of agencies, and among them an entire *corps* of professors, for a service which would be performed better in the school already established, if the school were supplemented with one or two professors.

Our practical wisdom is, not to have a larger number of seminaries, but to expand the seminaries which we have now; to make their system of instruction wider as well as deeper, enabling them to give, not only a more finished culture to one order of mind, but also an adequate culture to more orders of mind. Our firmament needs a sun to rule the day and a moon to rule the night, rather than the multiplication of new stars, here fixed, there wandering stars, which at best can only twinkle enough to make our darkness visible. The Europeans reproach us for two contradictory faults: one is, that of being too practical; the other, that of allowing too many persons to rush into one business. And perhaps there is no business which is more over-driven, than that of university-and-theological-seminary-making. One man is so concerned that he cannot sleep by night, because an existing school allows its pupils to learn that virtue does not consist in utility. Shall this man gather up all the parapherna-

lia of a new institution, in order to make it manifest that virtue does consist in utility? Can he not prove the usefulness of virtue more economically, by adding one lectureship to the existing school? One man is dissatisfied with an institution, because its pupils are taught that impenitent men do not receive from God a power of doing what God requires of them. Shall the churches be stirred up to endow a new institution, where it may be taught that impenitent men do receive from God a power of performing what God exacts of them? May not one professor of natural ability be sustained *along with* one professor of natural inability in the same school; and may not the same lecture room be open at one hour to the man of more taste than exercise, and at another hour to the man of more exercise than taste? Let one lecturer attract all the students he can, to hear him explain the eternal generation; and let another lecturer allure all the students he can, to hear him prove that he does not know what eternal generation means. For a time, there may be a chaos of theological notions; but let the darkness and the light succeed each other in the same place, and ere long the evening and the morning shall be the first day. There will be less bickering and jangling among good men, and good men will sooner learn what they have been bickering and jangling about, if they meet each other face to face, and let one theory grapple with another theory, and a Sibboleth press hard against a Shibboleth, and one cloud of words discharge its electric fluid into another cloud of words, until the atmosphere is purified, and the sunshine steals through the darkness, and the garden of the Lord smiles in light and peace.

Brethren, we have no time and no resources to waste in multiplying schools which will have only a starveling life. The day for fruitless experiments has gone by. There has now arrived the era of solid, broad Christian education. Four millions of our countrymen have come suddenly to the doors of our school-houses, and are knocking for admission. New England is called to lead this great enterprise of religious culture. The fertile soil of other States is not hers, nor the genial clime, nor the commercial facilities. For her glory, she is "shut up to

the faith ;” to the nurture of men who, with the help of God, will maintain and extend the faith. Her schools of learning must not be allowed to remain *beggars*, but must become *powers*. And the *Congregationalists* of New England are called to an amount of zeal and skill which they have never yet exhibited, in the training of religious teachers. We have loved to say, that the source from which Congregationalism springs, and the result to which it leads is, the educating of the mind and the heart of the pastors and the people. We are now to prove our words by our works. We have loved to describe our fortresses, and foretell the execution which they would do in the time of need ; but that time is come ; and now we are called not only to display, but also to discharge our guns. We live in a singular age, when the highest philanthropy blooms by the side of the lowest barbarism. Our countrymen have carried the photographic art so far, that we have received exact, almost perfect likenesses of our prisoners who have been emaciated into skeletons by our Southern office-holders. So do the triumphs of genius, surpassing the exploits of Greece and Rome, come into contact with atrocities which the American Indian would have scorned to perpetrate. The electric telegraph—here is the height of science—diffused in one hour through hundreds of miles, southward, westward, northward, the intelligence of an event—and here is the brutality—more degrading than any other assassination that has stained the annals of crime. Between these amazing extremes, so lofty a refinement, and so deep a debasement, the clerical office is called to mediate. It is like the lightning rod, not hurt by its contact with the air into which it rises, not soiled by its contact with the earth into which it penetrates, but conducting the upper light into the nether darkness, purifying the clouds above and electrifying the ground beneath ; and it stands by day and by night, and having done all it stands,—pointing true and steady to the heavens.

DR. ANDERSON'S WORK ON THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS.

BY ANDREW P. PEABODY, D.D., CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

[From the Boston Review for May, 1865.]

The Hawaiian Islands: Their Progress and Condition under Missionary Labors. By RUFUS ANDERSON, D.D., Foreign Secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. With Illustrations. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1864.

WE may profess implicit faith in the geological theories which adequately account for the condition and contents of the earth's crust; yet our faith in them lacks vividness, simply because no one of the world-forming processes has taken place under our own observation, or under the eye of witnesses who have told us their story. But were there at this moment an unfinished continent or island, still the abode of Saurian reptiles, or the laboratory of fossil coal, the fresh record of explorations in that region would convert our cosmogony from a vague or dead belief into a clearly conceived and intensely realized system of nature.

There has been in the remote past a social, there has been a religious cosmogony, and the greatest difficulty in the way of correct apprehensions as to the origin of civilization, and as to the methods of growth in the primitive church, lies in our lack of realizing and satisfying conceptions of the elements involved in each separate problem. The history of civilization is wrapped in obscurity. The veil of the Dark Ages fell upon certain savage tribes that had the mastery of Europe; it rose upon those tribes, still, indeed, rude in many of the arts of life, but already in an advanced condition of culture and of potential refinement. When we go back to the earlier civilization, we are equally unable to ascend to its cradle and to define the first stages of its growth. Yet birth and source it must have had, heavenly or earthly, and we all have our theories of its genesis;

but we hold them loosely and impassively, because it is so utterly impossible for us to conceive of the transmutation of savage into civilized man. Thus also, there was a creative era of the Christian church, a period when the transition was made, often simultaneously by large numbers of men and women, from Paganism or from Jewish ritualism to a vital faith in the Gospel. Of this era we have numerous memorials in the New Testament. The Epistles are full of the controversies, cases of conscience, weaknesses, scandals, causes of apostasy, incident to this infantile condition. But, though we doubt not the inspiration of the sacred writers, we are apt to enter with but feeble appreciation into the details of their casuistry; many of the topics which they treat seriously seem to us too trivial for grave animadversion; and in not a few cases they recognize as perfectly consistent with a position in the church states of character and modes of conduct which we should regard as incompatible with the Christian name. We thus find it hard to conceive of the earlier portions of Christian history, and while we devoutly acknowledge in them the divine working, we fail to discern the phases of humanity which the record simply describes without interpreting them. But if, after an interval of many centuries, these primitive civilizing and Christianizing processes have been renewed in our own time, even on a comparatively small scale; if even in the least of the nations an organic revolution such as had passed out of human expectation is now nearly consummated, the spectacle has a profound interest equally for the student of history and for the expositor of the Sacred Word.

Such a spectacle is exhibited in the book before us. On merely philosophical grounds it is of unique value. It shows us the means and steps of civilization, the circumstances which favor or check its growth, the action upon it of ideas and institutions respectively, its relations of cause and effect to religious culture. It throws essential light even on the most recondite questions, such as that of the possibility of a nation's becoming civilized except by aid or influence from without, that of man's primitive condition upon the earth, that of his decline or progress from his first estate.

Equally instructive, as we hope to show in the sequel, will this book be found by the biblical scholar. Since reading it,

we have understood the Epistles to the Corinthians better than ever before, and have been led, as by no merely critical study, to admire the prudence, sagacity, insight and foresight of the inspired author, no less than his tender forbearance and charity for the newly converted under their liability to the trail and soil of the worship they had abjured. At the same time, we have here full verification of the aggressive power of Christianity in circumstances in no wise favorable for its reception. We learn that it was not as the outgrowth of its own age that the Gospel found reception when first promulgated, but that it is the everlasting Gospel, endowed with like life-giving energy for all times and nations. We especially prize this testimony at a period when naturalism is attempting to sap the foundations of our faith. Other religions have shown themselves the congenial products of their own birthtime by the failure of all attempts to extend their empire, otherwise than by force, in subsequent generations. They grow for a while, rapidly it may be, because they embody and sanction ideas level with the culture of their age; but as the race advances, or changes without advancing, they have no hold, except on the populations which they have educated, and cramped and dwarfed in educating them. A divinely given religion alone can be free from these limitations of time and race, and can work in the eternal freshness of its power on minds of every grade and of every form of culture.

But, most of all, as lovers of mankind, do we rejoice in the evidence here given of a new Pentecost of Christian salvation, in the assurance of the birth into the eternal life of thousands of perishing souls, in the establishment of the reign of Christ upon the ruins of savage fetichism, in the songs of Zion that have replaced the cannibal's war-whoop, in the altars of redemption railed with the broken spears of fierce idolators, in the homes that from beastly dens have become nurseries for heaven.

We should incur the charge of extravagance were we to attempt to convey the impression made upon us by Dr. Anderson's book. His tour among the Hawaiian Islands seems to us the most magnificent progress recorded in history; and his simple, modest narrative, so entirely devoid of egotism and of exaggeration, only makes us feel the more profoundly the greatness of his mission and the preëminent fitness of the agent. Dr.

Anderson in his youth devoted himself in purpose to the career of a foreign missionary, and from the time when he first found the Gospel precious to his own soul, the needs and claims of the unevangelized have never been absent from his thought. In the pendency of arrangements for an Eastern mission, he accepted a temporary clerical appointment on the staff of the American Board. This appointment was soon made permanent; after eight years of service as Assistant Secretary, on the death of Rev. Dr. Cornelius, in 1832, he became one of the three Corresponding Secretaries; and for nearly thirty years he has held the first place in the administration of that noble charity. It is not easy to tell what fertility of resource, what sagacity in the discernment of character, what world-wide knowledge, what executive ability, what hold upon the confidence of good men in all lands, what extended power of influence, have been needed and developed in a life like his. On his prudence, patience, judgment, energy, the entire system has depended, to a degree most fully appreciated by those who have been most intimately conversant with his labors. No statesman or diplomatist has held in his hands so many threads of affairs, often delicate and complicated, often of decisive moment, often involving even grave national interests, demanding with the directness and integrity that befit the servant of the Most High a fully equal measure of the subtile skill and adroit management, in which the children of this world are so apt to surpass the children of the light, and for lack of which a large portion of the philanthropy which has the purest record in heaven leaves no enduring traces of itself on earth.

When Dr. Anderson entered on his official duties, the second instalment of missionaries to the Hawaiian Islands had been despatched, many of the natives were under hopeful training, the language had been reduced to its alphabetic elements, and the first essays at printing had been successfully made. But at that time the mission was a still doubtful experiment. Shortly afterward, the regent and nine of the principal chiefs were gathered into the Christian church, vast multitudes were awakened to a lively interest in the Gospel, and the transformation of institutions, habits, domestic and social life took place so rapidly as to leave no longer room for fear of the reestablishment of idolatry. During Dr. Anderson's secretaryship more

than a hundred missionaries, clerical and lay, male and female, have been sent to the Islands from the United States, under his instruction and direction, while to the Home Board have been constantly referred vital questions of policy and administration, both civil and ecclesiastical, involving difficult relations with the emissaries and officers of foreign governments, and with missionaries, sometimes intrusive, from other religious bodies. Less than the soundest discretion, the most determined vigor, and the most watchful and persistent assiduity on the part of the American Board would at various crises of the mission have placed its interests at fearful hazard, and occasioned disastrous decline in the religious condition of the natives.

In 1862, the Hawaiian people was deemed to hold its rightful place among Christian nations, and the question was raised as to the gradual withdrawal of the support of the Board, with the view of leaving the Islands to sustain their own religious institutions, and to furnish their own Christian teachers. To ascertain data for the safe and judicious settlement of this question it was thought desirable to send an officer of the Board to the Islands, and especially fitting was it to delegate this commission to him who had for nearly forty years identified himself with the work, and who could claim as his "children in the Lord" those thousands of redeemed and converted savages. It was for him an antepast of the blessedness of heaven. Seldom can he who sows in tears count on earth his ranks of ripened sheaves. Even in the ordinary Christian ministry, while the faithful servant of Christ is never without ground for encouragement and gratitude, a collective view of vast results is not often vouchsafed to him; and many there are who have effected so little to the outward eye compared with their longing and endeavor, that they go to their rest feeling that much of their strength has been spent for naught, and only in the day when the secrets of all hearts shall be revealed, will they know their share in the harvest-work. But as Dr. Anderson passed from village to village and from island to island, he was permitted to see in great part the accumulated fruits of his life-toil, multiplied tokens of a regeneration in which he had been the controlling mind, evidences of a work of grace in which he had been the favored instrument, whose magnitude is to be estimated not by past and present converts, but

by the unborn multitudes that shall enter on their Christian heritage. He was everywhere received with the love and reverence due to a father in Christ; thanks to God for his visit were sung in that language so strange to his ear; his advent was rapturously welcomed by immense congregations of the natives; he united in the celebration of the Saviour's death with larger bodies of believers than he can often meet in his own land; his words of faith and love, interpreted by his missionary brethren, were listened to with intense earnestness, and met with the most fervent response; and liberal contributions for the distribution of the Scriptures and the furtherance of the Gospel were pressed upon him by those so recently brought from darkness into God's marvellous light. It was, indeed, a triumphal march through this newly conquered province of the Redeemer's empire—how unspeakably blessed to one who felt so profoundly that in all these offerings of affection, gratitude and veneration he was but receiving tribute for the King of kings!

Trusting that most of our readers have sought or will seek for themselves the instruction and edification proffered by the book before us, we shall enter into none of the details of Dr. Anderson's journeyings and personal experiences, but shall confine ourselves to a brief sketch of the former and present condition of the Hawaiian people, and a discussion of a few of the many subjects of interest treated or suggested by the author.

The Hawaiian Islands are ten in number. The native inhabitants bear in color, features and language strong affinities to the Malays, from whom they were probably derived. The population, at the arrival of the first missionaries, was estimated at one hundred and thirty-five thousand, that of Hawaii, the principal island, at eighty thousand. The people were in the lowest condition of savage life. Their genial climate and spontaneously fertile soil had precluded the development of even the rude arts, of which in higher latitudes necessity would have been the teacher. Their dwellings were utterly devoid of comfort; their clothing insufficient for decency. The rights of property were hardly recognized. Extortion on the part of the chiefs, mutual theft and robbery among the people, seem to have been the common law. Polygamy was habitual among all who could obtain and support a plurality of wives, and licentiousness prevailed to the very verge of promiscuous concubin-

age. Infanticide was so prevalent as to have led to a marked decline of the population, two thirds of the children that were born having been buried barely to avoid the trouble of bringing them up. Murders and crimes of violence were perpetrated almost without restraint; and human sacrifices were offered for the recovery of the king when sick, and as victims at his obsequies. The natural conscience seems to have been obliterated, and there was no trace of a recognized distinction between right and wrong.

The prevalent idolatry was of the coarsest and most senseless type, consisting in the worship of hideous images, with no idea even of their being symbols of unseen powers. This idolatry was extirpated, by a unique combination of circumstances, about the time of the embarkation of the first American missionaries. It was a case in which Satan successfully cast out Satan, through the mysterious working of Him who makes even the wrath and guilt of man to praise him. Among the superstitions inseparable from the national religion was a stringent *tabu* system, extending not only to sacred days, places and persons, but to the domestic habits. Women were forbidden to eat in the presence of their husbands, and were debarred from many of the choicest articles of diet, whether fruit, flesh or fish. The violation of these interdicts was punishable by death, and it was supposed that the offender who escaped human vengeance would be destroyed by the gods. Foreigners had introduced ardent spirits, and to all the other sins of this degraded race was now superadded the habit of beastly drunkenness. The female chiefs, when intoxicated, found courage to indulge in prohibited food. Their rank secured them from punishment at the hand of man, and they were not slow in discovering that no vindictive bolt was launched at their heads by the divinity they had outraged. This *tabu* system seems to have been the fundamental doctrine, the *articulus stantis vel cadentis ecclesie* of their creed, and, this proved false, they found themselves atheists. The destruction of their idols, the burning of their temples ensued; and the missionaries discovered, for the first time in the world, an utterly godless people.

It can not be denied that this condition of things offered a vantage-ground for the labors of the earliest Christian teachers, yet less than might seem at first thought. Had the people been

far enough advanced in spiritual development to feel the need of worship, or to crave objects of reverence, the *rasa tabula* thus presented would have been easily written over with the holy names of the Christian faith. But these conditions precedent of religious belief seem to have been wanting. The tablet was not there. Yet undoubtedly it was easier, humanly speaking, to create it, than it would have been to make a palimpsest. The resistance presented by the *vis inertiae* of a race utterly *dead* in trespasses and sins was less than might have been opposed by vital and vigorous misbelief. The seeds of faith lie in the depraved heart, and the dew of the divine grace which alone can make them fruitful is seldom wanting to fervent prayer and faithful endeavor. But, this one feature excepted, the condition of the Hawaiians in 1820 presented as unpromising a field for evangelic culture as lay anywhere beneath the sun, and, compared with the primitive age of the church, an immeasurably less hopeful field than any of the communities to which the apostles carried the word of life.

What are they now? In the arts of civilized life their progress has been at least equal to their conscious needs. While the chiefs and many of the inhabitants of the towns have well-built and well-furnished houses, the squalidness and misery of the rural districts and the poorer classes have given place to habits of decency and self-respect. The government has a written Constitution, with a Bill of Rights as liberal as that of Massachusetts, and with the powers of king, legislature and judiciary carefully defined and limited. The laws are wise, equitable, and preëminently Christian, guarding the religious liberty of the people, but providing against the desecration of the Sabbath and against the renewal of idolatrous superstitions and observances. The courts are admirably organized, and the judicial offices filled by men of competent ability and proved integrity, in part by native citizens, one of the three judges of the Supreme Court being a Hawaiian. There is no country in Christendom, in which life and property are more secure, and none in which the laws against intemperance and licentiousness are more vigilantly and rigidly executed. In the native language there have been published twenty thousand copies of the entire Bible, twelve thousand of the New Testament, and more than two hundred works beside, including school-books, books of re-

ligious instruction, and general literature. Three Hawaiian newspapers are issued. The Report of 1849 gives two hundred and eighty nine schools, with eight thousand six hundred and twenty eight scholars. There are several boarding schools, both for boys and girls, at which a superior education is afforded, and a High School, which would bear comparison with our best New England academies, and which has graduated nearly eight hundred pupils, ten of whom have been ordained as ministers of the Gospel. Algebra, Geometry, Trigonometry, Surveying and Political Economy are among the higher branches of learning which have been successfully taught. The people manifest a singular aptness for the acquisition of knowledge, and display an equal susceptibility for the ideas, impressions, tastes and habits which belong of right to advancing intellectual culture.

We can not need to say that this social renovation has been, not only coincident with and incidental to, but commensurate with and dependent upon, the action of Christian truth on individual hearts, and through them on the great heart of the nation. The history of that people for the last forty years has been a multiform commentary on the text: "The entrance of Thy word giveth light." As regards domestic and social habits, we have no evidence that the missionaries have busied themselves especially in the details of improvement. But the Christian consciousness is quick and keen in detecting incongruities and improprieties; the æsthetic nature is stimulated, nourished and instructed by the Divine Spirit, which is the Spirit of beauty no less than of grace; and the consecration of the body and all that pertains to the outward life, by purity, decency, neatness and order, can hardly fail to accompany or follow the consecration of the soul to the service of God. This exterior reformation must needs bear a close proportion, in its extent and thoroughness, to the energy of the work of grace. In these Islands the Gospel had from the first free course among the chiefs and the men and women of commanding influence, and its power was early felt through the whole people. In 1838 there was a great awakening throughout the entire nation, which resulted in the accession of many thousands of genuine converts to the churches. In 1843 more than a fourth part of the entire population were professing Christians; a larger proportion, it is

believed,* than could be found anywhere else in Christendom. To all these the missionary stations were centres of light, places of familiar resort, seminaries for instruction in things secular no less than in things spiritual. The superior fitness of the habits and appliances of civilized life was promptly perceived and felt; and the disciples, of necessity, became imitators of the teachers and their families in such portions of their mode of living as were applicable to their own condition. This last limitation is essential to a just estimate of the degree of their civilization. Had the missionaries themselves, with all their culture and refinement, belonged to a race for many generations domesticated in that climate, their artificial wants would have been much fewer and more simple; and it would seem to be the tendency of the great mass of their converts to adopt from them just such improvements as they need for decency and comfort, while those who from their position in the state are brought into more intimate relations with the foreign residents conform more fully to foreign tastes and habits. With this essential qualification the Hawaiians already merit a place among civilized nations—a much higher place than would be accorded to the Greeks with their glorious heritage and their little more than nominal Christianity; and they hold this position solely through the transforming power of religious faith and culture.

It is, also, because they have so readily received the divine word, that they have become to so extraordinary a degree an educated and a reading people. The Bible enlarges the mental horizon, suggests themes of thought, subjects of inquiry, gives a sacredness and a zest to knowledge of every kind, stimulates study, and generates mental activity. There evidently exists in this so lately benighted community a higher type of intellectual life, a more genuine love of learning, a surer promise of advanced and extended culture, than can be found in the mass of any people in Europe or America which is debarred free access to the oracles of divine truth.

As for the actual religious condition of these Islands, we have spoken of the proportion of church members in 1843. It is nearly or quite as large at the present time. In the judgment of Dr. Anderson and other equally intelligent witnesses, the evidences of sincere piety are as general and as satisfactory as among professed believers in any portion of Christendom.

Family prayer is almost universal among the converts. The Sabbath is kept sacred to an unusual degree, and its worship is attended by numerous, in some places, by vast congregations. Social prayer meetings are established in connection with every church, and are maintained with constancy, and often with zeal. The average moral character of the church-members is in most respects high, even by the standard of our older civilization, and the sins which have led to frequent ecclesiastical censure and excommunication, though more patent to rebuke, are certainly no more inconsistent with the spirit of our religion than the worldliness, penuriousness and meanness which pass unchallenged among the guests at our communion table. Indeed, what indicates, perhaps, more clearly than all things else, the prevalent sincerity of these islanders is their readiness to give largely from their scanty means for the support and propagation of the Gospel. Their contributions average more than twenty thousand dollars annually, and their time and labor are always at the disposal of their teachers for the service of religion. In fine, though they not unfrequently show their still infantile estate as Christians, they at the same time exhibit abundant proof that the religion of the Gospel has wrought in thousands of hearts its regenerating work, and has so far leavened the entire community that there is no ground for apprehending a general apostasy or permanent decline.

We have dwelt on the evidences of their civilization, mainly with reference to the question which it was Dr. Anderson's special purpose to investigate, namely, the expediency of treating them as an integral part of Christendom, and gradually withdrawing from them the special tutelage of the Missionary Board. Their higher or lower degree of civilization or culture may not affect their present condition as Christians; but in their capacity to transmit that condition it is a vital element. The soul of the rudest savage may be converted to God and prepared for heaven; but the light that is in him can shed very little radiance around him. Christian institutions alone can perpetuate the power of the Gospel; and they can be sustained and extended among a population of unsettled habits and undeveloped intellect, only through the agency of a superior race. At most of our flourishing missionary stations the withdrawal of the missionaries would be followed by the speedy extinction of

all Christian life. A self-perpetuating church implies the establishment of permanent homes and regular modes of industry, a forethought adequate to provide for future exigencies, mutual confidence among fellow-worshippers, the capacity of combined and organized action, and the existence of means of education and habits of mental industry sufficient to ensure a well-trained ministry and a supply of intelligent office-bearers and leaders in church affairs. A community of which all this could be affirmed is to all intents and purposes civilized, and has within itself resources for further advancement and higher attainment. And in this sense the Hawaiians are civilized. We care not whether they live in houses of grass or of stone, sleep on mats or beds, sit on the ground or on chairs, eat with their fingers or with forks. These matters have no concern with civilization, that is, with the culture which fits men to be citizens and fellow-citizens.

Christianity always tends to civilize a community; but in order to produce this result, it must establish its control over the ruling classes, must permeate the body politic, mould its institutions, preside over its legislation, govern its social intercourse, and, above all, give character to the relations between husband and wife, parent and child, master and servant. Where this work has been in a good measure accomplished, its consummation may be retarded by the prolongation of foreign influence, however beneficent. It is well neither for individual nor collective humanity to remain in tutelage when the period of maturity has been reached. Guardianship beyond its due term cripples and dwarfs the faculties of self-help which it has created. We must, therefore, acknowledge the wisdom of the action of the American Board, in relinquishing the immediate control of the religious interests of these Islands to their native and resident population. The Board still provides for the maintenance of the missionaries already established, most of whom have passed the prime of active usefulness. The counsel and influence of these tried, approved and trusted teachers will be of essential benefit in the transition from pupilage to self-government, while the churches, unburdened by the necessity of contributing to their support, will have no obstacle in the way of securing and compensating the services of native ministers. At the same time those recent heathen are encouraged themselves to enter on the

field of missionary enterprise, and this most wisely ; for among the means of grace giving is second only to prayer, as the American church has found in its own blessed experience. The superintendence of the Micronesian mission is to be entrusted to an executive board chosen by the Hawaiian Evangelical Association, the American Board continuing its pecuniary aid for such time and in such measure as may be found necessary.

We have thus far presented only the bright and hopeful aspects of the Christian cause on these Islands. Is there not a reverse side? That there is we could not doubt, even were our author silent with regard to it. But, with his perfect candor, Dr. Anderson suppresses nothing, and our readers will miss in his pages not one of the salient facts which have been employed with malign purpose and effect by the calumniators of the mission. We have not referred to these facts in discussing the self-sustaining capacity of the Hawaiian churches, because they are not of sufficient magnitude to have any important bearing on that question, any more than the short-comings, dissensions and corruptions of our New England Christianity have on its power to prolong its own existence, and, by aid from on high, to purify and elevate its own standard of faith and piety. But we will now look at the shades in the picture.

In the first place, it must be admitted that there remains among the Hawaiian Christians a certain proclivity to licentiousness and intemperance. We are grieved, but not surprised or shocked at this. It is what is to be expected in a people separated by hardly a generation from an utterly brutish state of manners and morals. Aside from the theological question of original sin, though casting essential light upon it, there can be no doubt as to the transmission of moral tendencies in families and races. Had one of Herod's children become a disciple of Christ, he would have been a disciple of a very different type from one of the family of Joseph of Arimathea. He might repeatedly, under stress of sudden and intense temptation, have shown his sonship according to the flesh to the vilest of men, yet without losing from his heart the evidence of his spiritual sonship. Just such is the case with a tribe or race of converts from the lower forms of paganism. There is a heritage of evil in their very constitution of body, mind and soul. Ages of slavery to the animal appetites have stimulated those appe-

tites, and given them a natively larger influence over the active powers of the moral nature than they have in a people whose nature has been moulded by centuries of self-control and mental and religious culture. The Christian consciousness may be as genuine and as strong in the recent savage as in the descendant from an ancestry of saints ; yet in the former case it will have to contend with a host of the powers of evil, which in the latter were resisted and overcome in the remote past, and have since fought only with blunted weapons and with crippled strength. It must be remembered, too, that the social sentiments and habits of decency and propriety, which are a most essential safeguard and help to the individual Christian, at least in the early stages of the religious life, are of gradual growth and of cumulative efficacy, and that they have but just begun to grow in the Hawaiian people. It is said by the Spirit of God to every subject of renewing grace, as it was said to Abraham, "Get thee out of thine own country, and from thy kindred, and thy father's house, unto a land that I will show thee"; and the reality, intensity and working power of his faith are to be tested, not by the distance yet to be measured to the promised land, but by his distance from his starting point. He who moves on his pilgrimage from an idolatrous country, from kindred steeped in swinish sensuality, from a father's house no better than a kennel, may find himself at the close of a long and faithful pilgrimage below the starting point of natural conscience and conventional morality, at which the child of a consecrated household hears and obeys the same call of God ; yet in the eye of heaven he will have fought a good fight, and have finished a noble course, and his children may commence where he closed his career.

As we have intimated, the details in the volume before us at once receive light from, and reflect light upon, the apostolic epistles. In the churches at Corinth and in Asia, St. Paul certainly recognizes as brethren beloved, and praises for their proficiency and good gifts as Christians, persons who needed advice and warning as to the very rudiments of morality. At Corinth there had been gross violations of chastity among the disciples, and it would seem that even the Lord's Supper had been made an occasion of excess and drunkenness. In fine, there was in that church a condition of things incompatible, according

to our modern notions, with the lowest concrete form of vital Christianity. Yet in his second epistle we discern manifest traces in these frail novices of a sensitiveness to rebuke, an accessibleness to the movements of contrite sorrow, indicating all that is implied in the apostle's words as to the depth of Christian feeling in their hearts and the reality of their conversion to God. "For behold this self-same thing, that ye sorrowed after a godly sort, what carefulness it wrought in you, yea, what clearing of yourselves, yea, what indignation, yea, what fear, yea, what vehement desire, yea, what zeal"! St. Paul, it must be borne in mind, in view of these moral infirmities of his converts, is slow to condemn, chary of excommunication, prompt and earnest in the restoration of offenders, aware all the while that, though "the iniquity of their heels" — the sins in which they were born and bred, yet which they have in purpose left behind them — may at times "compass them about," there may yet be on their hearts the unobliterated seal of the Spirit. We can not but agree with some of the missionaries, as cited by Dr. Anderson, that among these modern converts excommunication has been too frequent, especially as the excommunicated have in numerous instances passed from a church which would have tolerated, not their sin, but their bitterly repented sin, to the less discriminating mercies of Romanism, which, whatever may be its theories, practically makes the way of transgressors easy.

The same sensitiveness to rebuke, which St. Paul recognizes among the Corinthians, may be remarked among the Hawaiians. Says Dr. Anderson, "I was assured of cases where, after a terrible declension, the return had been with increased humility, experience, watchfulness, and zeal, so that the lapsed recovered ones became at length pillars in the church."

So far from looking upon lapses of this kind, though frequent, as a ground of discouragement, we rather regard them, viewed in all their aspects, as a hopeful omen. It is an immense gain that the community has reached a condition in which such cases of sin are exceptional and abnormal, are not numerous enough to constitute a characteristic feature of the Christian society or to defy its discipline, and are already the objects of unfeigned shame and contrition among the guilty, and of hearty reprobation among their associates. Moreover, this unfortunate liability, so far as it exists, seems to be confined chiefly to those

who have been heathen and savages, and is not likely to be transmitted to their children except in a modified and controllable form and degree. The now rising generation, trained under the shadow of the domestic altar and the Christian sanctuary, educated by religious teachers, imbued from their tender years in the morality of the Gospel, and large numbers of them made in their youth hopeful subjects of Divine grace, will grow up under at least as favorable influences as those which surround the young persons in our own land whom we regard as the hope of the church. This future is already beginning to be realized. The pupils of the missionary schools are fast establishing a higher tone of character. Of the native ministers we are told that not one has shown himself unworthy of his sacred trust. The manifest tendency is toward an elevated standard of practical ethics.

In this connection we can not but attach great importance to the laws of the kingdom, not only or chiefly in their prohibitory or punitive function, but as declarative of the collective moral sense, and as educating the general conscience. From all that we can learn, we infer that in the legislation, and at the hands of the judiciary of the Islands, purity and temperance are as carefully guarded as they can be by human authority, and that those who violate them can be protected only by the secrecy of their guilt. The laws against the manufacture of intoxicating drinks and against their sale to native residents are peculiarly stringent and severe, and a very recent attempt to relax the penalty for their sale has been defeated by the vote of nearly three fourths of the legislature — a vote which, as passed after able and thorough discussion, we feel warranted in regarding as an authentic exponent of public opinion.

Does it not appear from these statements that the easily besetting sins of the Hawaiians are treated with greater severity and present better promise of their rapid decline, than the vices that infect the religious communities of older Christendom—the selfishness, avarice and virtual dishonesty, which are “the abomination of desolation” in the church of God, and hold in sordid slavery many who claim to be its very pillars?

A much more serious discouragement to missionary labor on this field might seem to be found in the decline of the native population. On this subject it is not easy to obtain trustworthy

data, either as to the extent to which causes of depopulation have operated in former times, or as to the degree in which they are now arrested. Captain Cook estimated the population at four hundred thousand; but this was undoubtedly an overestimate. The earliest official census, in 1832, gives one hundred and thirty thousand, three hundred and fifteen; the latest, in 1860, sixty nine thousand, eight hundred. But for the first four years of these twenty eight, the decrease was at the rate of more than four per cent. per annum, while for the last seven years it has been less than two thirds of one per cent. per annum. The vices introduced by foreigners held a prominent place among the causes of the rapid decline from the first discovery of the Islands till the arrival of the missionaries. The passion for strong drink made fearful ravages among the people; while the vile lusts of their visitors from civilized lands brought upon them even still more loathsome agencies of disease and death, and undoubtedly weakened the vital stamina of coming generations. There has been also at three different periods since the commencement of the century a visitation of devastating epidemics, though it would seem that the liability to diseases of this class is much less than in regions not lying under the salubrious influence of breezes from the sea. Infanticide and human sacrifices must also account in part for the diminished numbers of the people, and the former of these causes must have ceased very gradually with the progress of Christianity. Then too, though the rude and squalid habits of savage life are not incompatible with a moderate growth of population, improvements in dwellings, dress, food and medical treatment can hardly fail to preserve many lives that would else have been sacrificed in infancy, by needless exposure, or by curable disease. On the whole, we can not but believe that future enumerations will present results of a much more favorable character than the past, and that through the blessing of Providence this mild, gentle, tractable and highly improvable people may maintain its name and place among the nations of the earth, as a monument of Christian philanthropy, as a luculent token of the fulfilment of the promises of God, and as a centre and source of light to populations on the islands and coasts of the Pacific still lying under the shadow of death.

But were the case otherwise, were the gradual extinction of

this people clearly foreseen, would there be any the less reason to rejoice in what has been accomplished, and to extend to the declining remnant of the nation all the offices of Christian love? The salvation of thousands upon thousands of souls will still have rewarded the toil and sacrifice of the church and its agents; the national decline will have been retarded by this ministry of mercy; and there will have been written a chapter of the world's religious history, which we believe will be transcribed in letters of light in the Lamb's book of life.

We refer to this last named contingency, not because we think it probable, but because it may present itself to some of our readers as inevitable. It is undoubtedly a beneficent law of the divine Providence that races of feeble vitality and capacity shall yield place by the operation of natural causes to races of superior physical and intellectual vigor; in fine, that the different regions of the earth shall gradually pass into hands that can subdue it, avail themselves of its resources and enjoy its uses. Under this law, no doubt, the aborigines of North America will ultimately disappear, and the humane policy which ought to have been pursued to them from the first would not have ensured their preservation in the land, though it would have averted the condemnation of blood-guiltiness from the European settlers. But the Hawaiians do not seem to fall necessarily under this law. Their constitution is adapted to their climate; their capacity to their soil. They are amply able to develop the resources of their territory, and to employ for the general benefit the advantages of their position. They thus far show themselves susceptible of cultivation, and have made more rapid progress than has elsewhere left its record in the history of the world. They may not, indeed, have within themselves the elements of a great people; but their cluster of islets can never become the seat of a great people. They could not, indeed, protect themselves by arms against any of the leading powers of Christendom; but we trust that they will guard their modest independence by the arts and virtues that belong to a Christian nation, and by pacific and beneficent relations of intercourse and commerce. Their insular and solitary position may save them from dangerous complications with more powerful states; they can not lie on the track of any future belligerents, or become the victims of wars other than their own; and the time has gone by

for aggression or usurpation from abroad, without shadow of reason or pretence of right.

Another danger to which this people is exposed grows out of the influx of foreign residents. Much of the land is peculiarly adapted to the growth of the sugar-cane, while rice, coffee and cotton are successfully cultivated. These commodities are most profitably raised on large plantations, and the soil suited to their production is already furnishing a lucrative investment for the disposable capital of France, England and America; while the commerce of the Islands has of necessity been hitherto conducted to a very great degree by immigrants from the older commercial nations. To these dominant classes of foreigners there have been recently added importations of coolies from China for labor on the sugar-plantations. If enterprise on the one hand and manual labor on the other are to be permanently usurped by immigrants, of course under this double pressure the native population will inevitably decline in resources and in energy, and will be gradually absorbed and obliterated by intermarriage with the intrusive races. But whether this shall be the case or not must depend, we believe, on the thoroughness of the civilizing and Christianizing work which has been wrought upon the natives. If considerable numbers of them are fitted in intelligence and character to hold commanding positions, and to conduct extended operations in agriculture and commerce, they will in the lapse of one or two generations replace the foreign residents; for, with equal ability, they will have the advantage in physical constitution, in attachment to the soil, in the command of the language, and in the confidence of their fellow-countrymen. If, at the other extremity of the social scale, Christian culture develops habits of industry and creates a felt need of the comforts of civilized life, the mass of the people will not suffer the soil to be cultivated by strangers.

The labor of coolies, while on moral grounds little preferable to that of slaves, is not much less costly and wasteful, their nominally low wages being hardly an offset to the expense of importation and the rapid mortality among them; and the Hawaiians, once made aware of the duty and the privilege of toil, will readily demonstrate the superior economy of free labor. Much of the land planted with sugar-cane is now in the hands of small native proprietors; and on these estates free la-

bor is proved to be amply remunerative. On the whole we can not believe that a people that deserves to live can be pressed down and crushed out on its own soil. Foreign enterprise has gained its ascendancy, and foreign labor its foothold in the Hawaiian Islands, only while the natives are in training to take effective possession of their birthright. If they show themselves mentally or morally unfit to retain the heritage, we doubt not that Providence will bestow it on races more worthy of it. But in what God has done for this people, while we may not presume to lift the veil from his decrees, we can not but trust that he has been training, not only souls for heaven, but a nation to serve him in the land which he has given to them.

Another topic, to which we are bound to allude, however unwillingly, in treating of the adverse or discouraging circumstances in connection with Hawaiian Christianity, is that of divided religious interests. In the older portions of Christendom, the phenomenon of rival sects is understood, and their common appeal to the same plenary and divine authority casts the weight of their combined testimony and influence on the side of faith. But those recently converted from heathenism, accustomed to uniformity of belief and worship in their previous estate, and knowing little of the history of the Christian church, are perplexed and often thrown into scepticism by the antagonisms of mutually exclusive sects. They can not comprehend the identity of religion where there is no community of religious interest and feeling. In their view the denial of the doctrines and the contempt of the ritual in which they have been trained are tantamount to the rejection and contempt of Christianity. Even in the age of the apostles, and under the ministry of those who had received their doctrine from the lips or by the revelation of the Lord, it was feared lest different modes of teaching and discipline on the same soil might be fraught with mischief. St. Paul expresses his determination not to enter on other men's labors, and laments and deprecates the consequences of the intrusion on his own ground of teachers not authorized or approved by himself. In the world-wide field open to the philanthropy of the church, modern Protestant missionaries have in general recognized this principle, and have been unwilling to present before heathendom the spectacle of a distracted church and a divided Gospel. When they could not

labor side by side without collision or wide dissiliency of aim or action, they have, like Abraham and Lot, fed their flocks apart.

This Christian comity has been violated by the mission of the English church, or, as it styles itself, the "Reformed Catholic Mission." The subject is one which we would gladly omit; but we should do injustice equally to the work under review and to the mission cause, were we to pass it over in silence.

The late king having become interested in the services of the English church, and there being at Honolulu many English residents who had been educated in its worship, application was made by Rev. Dr. Armstrong, once a missionary of the American Board, and then filling the office of President of the Board of Public Instruction, and Mr. Wyllie, an Englishman, Minister of Foreign Affairs, to Rev. William Ellis of London, pledging a moderate salary to some suitable English clergyman, who might consent to assume the pastorate of a church at the capital. The request was made for "a man with evangelical sentiment, of respectable talents, and most exemplary Christian life. A high churchman," added Dr. Armstrong, "or one of loose Christian habits, would not succeed. He would not have the sympathy and support of the other evangelical ministers at all, but rather opposition." This application was in entire accordance with the wishes of the missionaries and their friends. Indeed Dr. Anderson had previously urged a bishop of the American Episcopal church to send out a presbyter of his diocese with reference to such a charge. Mr. Wyllie, who seems to have been playing a double game, had previously entered into correspondence with Mr. Hopkins, the Hawaiian consul in London, and a plan was matured through his agency for sending to the Islands a bishop and three presbyters, under the [high church] auspices of the Society for Propagating the Gospel. When this project became known, the American Board instituted a correspondence with the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, both of whom are understood to have sympathized with the views of the Board, and to have been opposed to intrusion on the field which they had made their own. But the counsels of the high church party prevailed. Bishop Staley was consecrated in 1861, and arrived at Honolulu, accompanied by two of his presbyters, and shortly followed by a third, in October, 1862.

These men of lofty apostolic pretensions have taken precisely the course which might have been anticipated, and will undoubtedly succeed in creating schism and animosity among the native Christians. They ignore the ministerial character and office of the American missionaries. They avail themselves of every opportunity of baptising children, without reference to the ecclesiastical relations of the parents. They have established the most showy and Romeward tending modes of worship, "with surplice and stole, with alb, and cope, and crosier; with rochet, and mitre, and pastoral staff; with Episcopal ring and banner; with pictures, altar-candles, robings, intonations, processions, and attitudes." Meanwhile Bishop Staley has been preaching the most extreme and offensive doctrines of his party in the church, doctrines diametrically opposed to those taught by the missionaries, patristical tradition, baptismal regeneration, the gift of the Holy Spirit in confirmation, confession to the priest, and priestly absolution. At the same time he has stultified himself, while he has no doubt mystified his serious hearers, and encouraged the undevout in the desecration of holy time, by declaring that Sunday is "most falsely and mischievously called the Sabbath," and intimating that the daily service of the church and the observance of its solemn festivals fitly supersede the special reverence with which the people had been taught by the missionaries and required by the law of the land to regard the one day in seven. He has stultified himself, we say; for, unless the high church "has changed all this," the precept, "Remember that thou keep holy the Sabbath day," is read constantly in the ante-communion service, with the response, "Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law." If Sunday is "most falsely and mischievously called the Sabbath," to what observance does this portion of the English liturgy have reference? Or does Bishop Staley require his adherents, in the most sacred service of the altar, to perform an act of solemn mockery, to offer a prayer which is arrant blasphemy, to beg of the divine mercy that they may be inclined to practice "falsehood and mischief"? Candles at noonday are a harmless folly; this is gross impiety.

The success of this mission has as yet been very limited. Its congregations are small. The modes of worship repel the simple tastes of such as have been sincerely attached to the minis-

trations of their earlier teachers ; and those who want to be addressed through the senses, and gravitate toward the old idolatry, can find more that is congenial among the Roman Catholics than among their imitators. Yet under the patronage of the court and of some of the more influential foreign residents, this superstition must needs grow. It can hardly fail to create a diversion from the interests of a simple faith and worship, which is especially to be deprecated at the present crisis, when the autonomy of the native church is just beginning, and needs the combined zeal, effort and liberality of all who love the cause of Christ and seek the prosperity of Zion.

We have spoken freely and warmly of this intrusion ; but we believe that we have said no more than candid Episcopalians would readily admit and endorse. For the English church and its American sister we cherish all due reverence, gratitude and affection ; and because we feel this, we can not think or write with easy tolerance of the stilted and popinjay caricatures of its solemn order and majestic ritual.

There is also on the Islands a Roman Catholic Mission, numbering as proselytes, (including all baptized persons,) more than twenty thousand souls. The Mormons have, too, a small settlement on the island of Lanai, and reckon, (including children,) not far from four thousand members. It does not appear that either of these forms of belief is making rapid progress, or presents any active hostility to the success of Protestant Christianity.

While we should be gratified to see this new-born people united in faith and worship, we can conceive that this diversity of ministration, these forms of error, these tares growing with the wheat, may be made subservient to their better proficiency in divine things. Inquiry, comparison, mental activity on religious subjects, will be aroused and guided ; the native pastors will feel the more intense need of taking heed to themselves, their doctrine and their flocks, because they are in the midst of gainsayers ; private Christians will have added inducements to be loyal to the Master who can receive no wounds so deep as in the house of his friends ; and thus a more intelligent faith and a more fervent piety may spring from the present division, and may prepare the way for the ultimate triumph of the truth over all obstacles and hinderances.

We have forborne making extracts from the work under review, because we are unwilling that any of our readers should become acquainted with it in scraps or fragments. We have not even given an analysis of it, though our materials have been chiefly derived from it. Besides, there are no *especially* interesting extracts. The whole, from the Preface to the Appendix, is full of intense interest for all who love their Saviour and their race. The narrative flags not for one moment on the eager attention of the reader, nor can it fail to lift the devout heart as with a continuous anthem of praise to Him who has "given such power unto men," as is shown forth in this regenerated people.

One thought suggests itself in conclusion. Much of the science of our day busies itself, with a depraved ingenuity, in detaching man's hold on the ancestral tree by which he traces his descent from God, and of which, among the progeny of the second Adam, he may become a living branch. The true answer to these speculations is not to be found in ethnology or in physiology. No race can make out an unbroken pedigree; nor yet can we deny that there are strong analogies between the higher orders of quadrupeds and the lower members of the human family, not only in physical structure, but in mental capacity. Fifty years ago, the half-reasoning elephant or the tractable and troth-keeping dog might have seemed the peer, or more, of the unreasoning and conscienceless Hawaiian. From that very race, from that very generation, with which the nobler brutes might have scorned to claim kindred, have been developed the peers of saints and angels. Does not the susceptibility of regeneration, the capacity for all that is tender, beautiful and glorious in the humanity of the Lord from heaven — inherent in the lowest types of our race — of itself constitute an impassable line of demarcation between the brute and man? Has physical science a right to leave "the new man in Christ Jesus," which the most squalid savage may become, out of the question in its theories of natural selection or spontaneous development? When the modern Lucretianism can account for the phenomena of Christian salvation, without the intervention of miracle, revelation, or Redeemer, and not till then, can it demand our respect as a tenable theory of the universe.

TRIBUTE

TO

THE MEMORY OF

REV. JOHN TOWNSEND COIT,

Late Pastor of St. Peter's Church,

ROCHESTER, N. Y.



ROCHESTER;
E. DARROW AND BROTHER.
1864.

IN MEMORIAM.

AMIDST the great human harvest which the Reaper Death is continually gathering to the tomb, it might seem that any individual life, however distinguished for intellectual excellence and moral beauty, would lose its separate importance, and be scarcely worthy of special commemoration. But the value stamped on human life—and on human death—is intrinsic and ineffaceable, and entirely independent of the numbers with whom they may be shared. Each separate soul glows with a spark of the divine fire: to each separate human destiny is opened its own immortal career; and each separate cluster of human virtues makes its own contribution to that mass of excellence which shall constitute the blessedness of heaven. And when it sinks away under the stroke of death, it leaves as large a circle of bereaved and mourning hearts, deprives earth of as precious a treasure, and brings to heaven as rich an accession of sanctified excellence, as if it were the only fruit that Death had been permitted to pluck amidst all the clustering luxuriance of human virtue. Thus divine is the prerogative of the human soul: so transcendently important the event, when a spirit, endowed and sanctified from on high, bears its garnered wealth of excellence beyond the stars. Thousands are falling around us; the myriad millions of the past have gone to the tomb; the myriad millions of the future will go down to their kindred dust; yet of not a whit the less importance is each individual

destiny, and in the firmament of eternity not a star of virtue but shall shine with its own distinct and imperishable lustre. Heaven will be large enough to give to every ransomed soul its proper home: eternity will be ample enough to open to each its own career. Such is the divine allotment. It binds the individual up with the race, but it does not permit the race to absorb or obscure the individual; and precious, therefore, in the sight of the Lord, and precious in the estimate of christian faith, is the death of every true servant of God, and heir of immortal life.

The twenty-third of January, 1863, witnessed the removal of another beloved servant of Christ from the scene of his earthly labors. All that was mortal of the Rev. JOHN TOWNSEND COIT then fell under the power of death: all that was spiritual passed from the sphere of earth to its congenial spiritual home. Kindred hearts yet bleeding over a loss that seems irreparable; a religious congregation deprived, as in a moment, of a loved and faithful Pastor; friends who feel that ties of unwonted strength and sacredness have been severed, unite in offering the slight memorial which follows, as but a very inadequate tribute to the virtues of the deceased, and to their own unfeigned emotions of love and sorrow.

The subject of this memorial was born in Buffalo, May 8, 1824. His father, George Coit, first made his home in Buffalo in 1811, and is now the oldest resident but one of that flourishing commercial city. His mother, Hannah Townsend Coit, died when he was eleven years of age, but not before she had impressed deeply and permanently on him, as on her other children, the influence of a character of uncommon excellence and loveliness. To her tender and judicious care were due in no slight degree the happy auspices under which he entered upon his career. A second mother, who died when he was sixteen years old, after a brief married life of two years, was also a woman of singular religious consecration, and to her influence it was, perhaps, largely owing that, immediately on his conversion, his mind took instinctively the direction of the Christian ministry. A third mother, who entered the family in 1841, speedily won his tenderest filial

regards, and mingles with his other kindred her tears above his tomb.

John was the third son and the fourth child of the family. His early years were marked by the same lovely traits that distinguished his manhood. Docile, affectionate, and generous to almost complete unselfishness, he seemed incapable of either cherishing or incurring an enmity. He also gave at once indication of those intellectual tastes which determined his after career, and marked him as an eminently fitting candidate for a liberal education. His early studies were pursued chiefly in his native town, and in 1840, at the age of sixteen, he entered the Freshman class of Yale College, from which he was graduated honorably in 1844. He was an exemplary and diligent student, prepared himself faithfully for all the College exercises, and was a successful candidate among about forty competitors, for a prize in English composition. In this department, perhaps beyond any other, he was calculated to excel. His thoughts, always just and sensible, naturally clothed themselves in graceful and often elegant diction. He became now deeply interested in his spiritual welfare, and a religious revival, which occurred during his Freshman year, seems to have numbered him among the first subjects of its saving influence. In Dr. Joseph P. Thompson's *Memoir of David L. Stoddard* occurs the following passage from the diary of Mr. Stoddard, then Latin tutor in the College :

“ You will rejoice to learn that there are very encouraging indications of a revival throughout this College. Christians are unusually serious, and a number of the impenitent are inquiring. Last evening one of my students called to talk with me. I suspected his errand, and presently introduced the subject of religion. He proved to be under deep anxiety, and said he was willing to do anything and to be anything that God would have him. He wanted guidance—he wanted a Christian's prayers. I tried to explain to him his duty, and told him my own experience when under conviction. We then knelt together before the mercy-seat and prayed. I could

not but feel at the time that his was the prayer of the contrite soul. His confessions seemed to be penitential, and his consecration to be unreserved—for time and for eternity. To day he came smiling into my room, and his countenance at once told the story. He was peaceful and happy, and so far as man can judge, is born into the kingdom. I hope and pray that this may be a harbinger of better things among us."

The student here referred to was Mr. Coit, and from this time he became a joyful and growing Christian. And on his personal experience of the power of grace followed the desire to impart its blessings to others, and he soon formed the purpose, though with the misgivings of a disposition naturally modest and self-distrustful, to devote himself to the ministry of the gospel in the Presbyterian church. On leaving college, therefore, he entered immediately on studies specially appropriate to the sacred calling. One year he spent at home, studying systematically by himself, and then entered the Theological Seminary at Andover, whose chairs of instruction were then filled by Rev. Prof. Stuart, Rev. Dr. Woods, and their co-adjutors. He completed the course of three years in the Seminary, laboring faithfully to discipline and enrich his mind with the great truths of Sacred Science. He was still, however, unsatisfied. Impressed more and more with the magnitude of the work before him, and feeling yet young to assume pastoral responsibilities, he resolved to seek to enlarge his qualifications by residence and study abroad.

In November, 1849, accordingly, Mr. Coit embarked for Europe, intending to go at once to Germany, and seat himself at the feet of the great ecclesiastical historian, Neander. But before he reached Berlin Neander died, and Mr. Coit repaired to Halle, where he spent about a year and a half enjoying the instructions and the confidential intercourse of Prof. Tholuck. His residence in Germany not only widened his theological culture, but made him master of the German language, and of much of its choicest literature. His letters written during this period indicate a close observer of men and things around him, as well as of the special influences, intellectual and moral, which were acting on himself. They

show that while availing himself of the fruits of German erudition, he sedulously guarded the purity both of his speculative and practical religious life. German neologizing never tainted the soundness of his faith, nor chilled the fervor of his piety. He could admire and use the resources and results of its learning, without being seduced into a departure from the simplicity of those evangelical views in which he had been instructed. His brief subsequent career showed that he had turned to profitable account the ample privileges both of his home and foreign education, and that the equipments of human culture had but prepared him the more effectively to exhibit, in its divine simplicity, the doctrine of the Cross.

While in Germany he availed himself of the summer recess in the University for making a trip through Switzerland, and into northern Italy as far as Venice. His excursion into those picturesque and romantic regions was full of interest. Italy, with her scenes of enchanting and storied loveliness, touched his passion for the beautiful and his classical enthusiasm, while the stupendous grandeur of those mountain barriers which God has reared along her northern border, laid on him a yet mightier spell. The Alps stirred into powerful action the deeper elements of his nature, and a somewhat elaborate diary of 124 pages (portions of which appeared at the time as letters in the *Buffalo Journals*) attests both the vividness of his impressions and his fidelity in recording them. And the effect was lasting. The inspiration caught from these wonderful works of God often re-appeared in his pulpit discourses in vivid and forcible illustrations. On finally taking leave of Halle he spent some time traveling in France and England, and then embarking for home, reached New York in November, 1851, just two years from the time of his departure. He came back uncommonly ripe, for his years, in theological attainments, and furnished with that varied culture which, pervaded and exalted by a single-hearted consecration to Christ, promised to render him greatly useful in the ministry of reconciliation.

He did not, however, assume immediately the relation of a pastor; but, residing mainly at home, preached with

more or less regularity in the churches of the city and neighborhood. To preach among his townsmen was to his sensitive and diffident nature a sore trial, but having once passed the ordeal, he soon found himself at home in the pulpit, and devoted himself with increasing love and heartiness to his work. In the autumn of 1854 he accepted an invitation to preach as a temporary supply, from St. Peter's, a recently organized Presbyterian Church in the city of Rochester. Although called without the expectation of remaining, he soon won the esteem and affection of the people, and his brief stay with the church wove those bonds of mutual interest and attachment which subsequently drew him back to it as its permanent Pastor. Providence, however, had previously appointed him to another field. After preaching six months at St. Peter's, he received and accepted a call to settle with the Presbyterian Church in Albion. He commenced his ministry here April 1, 1855. In July following he was ordained, and installed as Pastor, the Rev. Dr. Thompson of Buffalo preaching the installation sermon. On the 25th of November following he was married to Miss Martha J. Davis, of Norwich, Conn., whose acquaintance he had made while on a visit to Saratoga Springs,—whose personal loveliness, and whose graces of mind and character eminently fitted her to be the minister at once to his happiness and usefulness. How thoroughly congenial was their union, what exquisite ties of love and tenderness the desolating stroke of death has come in to sever, this is not the fitting place to attempt to portray.

Mr. Coit now entered with zeal and diligence on his vocation of Pastor. With what fidelity and success he labored, how completely he won the enthusiastic affection of his people, how entirely he enshrined himself in their tenderest sympathies, we have the most abundant testimony. To few Pastors, we believe, is it allotted, within the space of five years, to engrave on so many hearts a record at once so precious and so indelible. If any shadow of doubt rested on any mind when the invitation was extended to him, it was soon dissipated. If there was any whisper of opposition or

unfriendly criticism, it was speedily hushed, and in the grateful and almost idolizing affections of a unanimous people he spent the five years of a happy ministry. Gentle and engaging in social life, dignified and solemn in his public ministrations, tender and sympathizing at the bed of sickness and in the circles of sorrow, quick to respond to every throb of human joy or agony, to rejoice with them that rejoiced, and to weep with them that wept, he appeared a model Pastor, and might well be to his people an object at once of their pride and their affection. And he had the satisfaction not only of human approval, but also of a rich divine blessing on his labors. The Spirit of God ere long descended in powerful working, and produced among his people a wide-spread quickening of religious life. Daily religious meetings were held, into which he threw his whole energies. He preached twenty-five evenings in succession, and held during the day regular religious conversations with inquirers at his house. He had the pleasure of introducing into the church, at two successive communions, one hundred and fifty converts, many of them youth, who thus became bound up in him as their earthly spiritual father. In reference to his ministry in Albion, it may be proper to present the following extract from a communication written since his decease, by a lady of his church of high intelligence. We would be glad, if our limits allowed, to publish the letter entire.

“His ministrations on the Sabbath, his teachings in the lecture room, were ever earnest, solemn and impressive, and many of the ‘words’ which he ‘spake’ while he was yet with us are echoing still in our hearts, like the notes of distant music. No favorite expressions, no pet phrases, marred the beauty of his compositions. He never lowered or belittled a subject upon which he was engaged ; but giving it all needful expansion of thought, rose with it to its proper altitude, carrying his auditors along with him. Such was the symmetrical construction of his written discourses, the purity of their style, the perfect rounding of their periods, the beauty of their figures, but above all the vital godliness which permeated the whole, that while the more intellectual hearer

enjoyed a feast, the humble seeker after truth was not unfed, but felt that he received the bread of life.

“As a pastor, a friend, a counsellor, he was alike faithful in the home of affluence or the dwelling of the lowly; in the chamber of sickness or at the bedside of the dying. Unconscious of self, he entered at once into the feelings of those with whom he sympathized. Many instances might be mentioned of his commiseration of the poor and destitute, his large-heartedness, and benevolence. Occupying an elevated position in life by birth, by education, and by dignity of character, he condescended to ‘men of low estate,’ and considered ‘the poor and needy.’ Diffusing around him an atmosphere of warmth and brightness, he was the light and joy of the social circle, and when we missed his kindly greeting, and the soul-presence that looked out from his eyes, we felt that something was lacking to our enjoyment. His cultivated taste, his knowledge of Art, his acquaintance with Nature, in her grandest as well as her most lovely forms, in his own and other lands, his perception and love of the beautiful everywhere, together with the deep undertone of piety which pervaded his conversation, made his society, when once enjoyed, a charm not soon to be forgotten.”

At the close of five years, Mr. Coit's people were equally startled and grieved to learn that he had received and was inclined to accept a call from the Church of St. Peter's in Rochester, the field of his earlier ministerial labors. We cannot wonder that the tidings fell heavily upon them, and that they were slow to recognize the sufficiency of the reasons for breaking up a relation so happy, and so manifestly useful. Nor is it our province to canvass the reasons which might determine him to this step—a step not taken, assuredly, except under conscientious convictions of duty. Private feelings, if he heeded them, drew him strongly in both directions. He loved the people of his charge with truest love, and he still held in warm remembrance the friendships formed during his brief residence in Rochester. Two special advantages, we may mention in passing, he anticipated and reaped from the change: one, that of a larger measure of ministerial

fellowship, counsel and sympathy than could be enjoyed in the comparative seclusion of a country village; the other, the opportunity, by availing himself of his previous pulpit preparations, of devoting more time to single discourses, and thus striving more effectually to reach his ideal standard of perfection. He had no desire to limit the amount of his labors: he only desired to labor under the most favorable conditions.

With much natural reluctance and regret, therefore, alike on the part of himself and his people, Mr. Coit decided to accept the call now tendered to him. He removed to Rochester June 1, 1860. He came not as a stranger. He was cordially welcomed back by many who had attended on his former ministrations. He was installed in July following: the installation discourse was delivered by the Rev. Wm. James of Albany. To sketch his career from this time to its close would be but to repeat substantially the statements regarding his life in Albion, with the added feature that he was growing steadily in intellectual strength and Christian ripeness, in pastoral devotion and pulpit power. His sermons, losing none of their simplicity and fervor, were elaborated with greater care, and bore marks of increasing depth of thought and wide spiritual surveys. Here, too, the seal of divine approval was set upon his labors; for, though they were attended by no single powerful religious awakening, as at Albion, yet not more than one or two communion seasons of his entire pastorate passed without the reception into the Church of some hopeful subjects of saving grace. Thus,—his family and himself endeared to a large and growing circle of appreciating friends—his position promised to gratify his largest aspirations both for usefulness and enjoyment, and when, a few months before his death, an invitation to become their pastor was extended to him by one of the best churches in one of the finest cities of New England, he dismissed the subject almost without consideration, finding in it no inducement to quit his present home and people.

But a greater and unlooked for change awaited him: a call to which he had as little power as inclination to say no. The summons came not from an individual church, but from

the Supreme Head of all the Churches. It called him not to one of the distant outposts, but to the central seat of the great field of spiritual activity. The bearer of the message was the Angel of Death. Early, almost without premonition, with a suddenness which surprised and overwhelmed all, he was called to lay down his staff of office, and seal the utterances of his life with his dying testimony. His large, muscular, well knit and developed frame seemed capable of enduring any amount of toil, and repelling any ordinary assaults of disease. His eye, sparkling with life, and his countenance, flushed with luxuriant health, spoke of any thing rather than of an early death, and seemed to forbid any associations of him with the grave. He himself habitually looked forward to a long life, and felt that its now flowing tide would scarcely reach its utmost ebb before the latest limit ordinarily assigned to man. Some little twinges of illness during a summer excursion into Vermont, and a sudden and violent, but transient attack in his chest after his return, might remind him that his system bore the elements of decay, but were not construed into anything serious.

On Saturday, Jan. 17, 1863, he went with Mrs. Coit to visit and preach with his former flock in Albion, with whom he maintained relations of undiminished attachment. On Sabbath morning he felt considerably unwell, but not sufficiently so to prevent him from going to the church to perform the expected service. His former people were gathered, eager to listen to the voice always dear to them. One venerable man, who had been one of his most efficient elders, but was now partially paralyzed, was placed in a chair near the pulpit, where he might again catch the tones of his late pastor's voice, and again feel his failing powers gather new strength, as "truths divine came mended from his lips." It was a scene that aroused the deepest elements of the preacher's soul, and his opening prayer, rich with a divine unction, and glowing with tenderest love, seemed to bring himself and his congregation to the very gate of heaven. But here he faltered. The pain which he felt in his chest became so violent that he was obliged, at the close of the prayer, to

dismiss the assembly and return to the house, not, however, without the hope of being able to resume his place in the pulpit at evening. But the hope was not realized. He had entered the pulpit for the last time. Those introductory Sabbath services but preluded the worship of the heavenly Sanctuary into which he should bear his priestly vestments before another Sabbath sun should rise upon the world. From that congregation of the living he passed, to join, after a brief period of suffering and triumph, the congregation of the dead, and the spirits of the just made perfect, gathered around the Throne. Death, having got his license from Him who holds in his hand the issues of human life, advanced with rapid and inexorable step, as if doubly eager to execute his mission on one whose vigorous frame and gushing fulness of health seemed to defy his power. On Sunday morning he took to his bed: at the close of the Friday following his bed was the bed of death. But, rapidly as the foe came on, he found his victim panoplied to meet him. Though cast down he was not destroyed. Death surprised, but did not appal him: it found him unexpectant, but not unprepared. Cherishing fully the anticipation of recovery, scarcely dreaming, until near the close, of a possible fatal termination of his illness, when the knowledge of his real condition came to him, he, after a moment of doubt and surprise, adjusted himself at once to the new state of things, and showed that his habitual expectation of living had sprung from no unreadiness to die, nor had made him a stranger to the joys of a believer's death-bed.

On Thursday night, being informed in answer to his inquiries regarding his prospects of recovery, that they were not favorable, and that his nearly exhausted strength would hold out but for a few more hours, he said, "Doctor, you surprise me. I never dreamed of this. I had not thought myself in any particular danger; but sudden and unexpected as it is, I can say with truth that I am ready, nay, joyous to go." Half incredulous, however, he repeated the inquiry, and was again assured that he was near his end. From this ensued a scene, lasting until a few moments before he expired,

of such sacred resignation and triumph, as gave to all who witnessed it new attestations to the divinity of our religion, and new conceptions of its power to sustain and glorify the dying hours of the believer. Every element of sorrow seemed banished from that death-scene, and "quite on the verge of heaven," both the soul and the chamber of the dying saint seemed filled as with an effluence from the heavenly glory. It is our privilege to dwell upon the scene, not that we may render honor to a mortal, but in homage to Almighty grace, and to Him, who having himself triumphed over Death, has become to all his followers the Resurrection and the Life.

Mr. Coit first engaged in prayer strictly and exclusively personal, in which he confessed his sinfulness, committed his whole spiritual being and interests into the hands of his Redeemer, and prayed to be completely sanctified for the Holy Presence which he was soon to enter. It was a prayer which, in its touching simplicity, in its unfeigned humility, yet lofty faith, in its singular beauty and appropriateness both of thought and diction, seemed like the prayer of one just ready to depart, and who needed but to drop his habiliments of flesh in order to be ready for the sacred presence of the Throne.

Previously to this, his mind had occasionally slightly wandered, but the announcement of his near end had rallied all his mental energies, and from this time till his decease only for a single instant did a passing cloud obscure the clearness of his intellect. Inquiring for his parents, who were spending the night at a neighboring house, he said, "This is strange! I have thought of death in the distant future; but to think of it far off and near at hand are very different things. My father at more than three-score and ten is healthy, and I had never thought of living less than that time; nay, I had supposed my vigorous frame might carry me even to four-score. But in a few hours I shall be with my God and Saviour in glory." As his agonized father came into the room, he extended his hands, and with the utmost composure said, "Well, father, I have been expecting to see you set out on this road; but I am going — I am going before you. It is a short road,

and you and mother, and all these loved ones will soon follow. The separation is brief. Do not mourn; but think of me as happy with my Lord. I have loved you tenderly, and what happiness it will be when we are all gathered into the arms of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ in heaven!"

To his wife, always delicate in health, and now well nigh crushed by a grief so unlooked for and so overwhelming, he addressed the tenderest words of consolation. He spoke of the delightful and happy home which they had enjoyed together, and which they had quitted a few days before with no presentiment that it was for the last time; but pointed her forward to the still better home from which they should go no more out, and to the heavenly reunion whose bliss should be marred by no dread of separation. But a little while,—this, as in the Saviour's parting from his sorrowing disciples, was the burden of his consolation—but a little while and life's sorrows and bereavements would all be over, and meantime let her stay herself upon Christ as an all-sufficient helper. To the sister of his wife, who for several years as a member of their household, had ministered largely to its happiness, he spoke the tenderest words of farewell, and commended to her affectionate sympathy the one on whom this desolating blow would most immediately fall.

His mind now reverted to the absent. He sent affectionate messages to his brothers and sisters, urging them to fidelity in their preparation for meeting him in heaven. None of his friends, none of those with whom his public ministrations had brought him into relation, were forgotten. He remembered those of his earlier charge, amidst whose tender sympathies he was now breathing out his life. "Tell the church and people of Albion," said he, "how much I loved them. Here was the scene of my early ministerial labors, and though performed in much weakness, I have a heartfelt assurance that many were born into the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ, and became partakers of his righteousness and heirs of eternal life; and I trust that many more will be until we all become partakers of his glorious and eternal rest." To the church in Rochester in like manner, his own

beloved people from whom in his dying hours he was now separated, and to the Sabbath school, he sent messages overflowing with affectionate interest.

After these words and messages he again engaged in prayer. Parents and wife, brothers and sisters were affectionately committed to the tender mercies and keeping of the God in whom he now rested ; while the heartfelt interest manifested in the welfare of the two churches in which he had labored, and especially the earnestness with which he prayed that God would sanctify his death to the salvation of those of his congregations whom he had failed to reach by his preaching, moved all present to tears.

After some moments of rest, he asked as in surprise, "Can this be death ? Then how beautiful it is to die ! I have been accustomed to array death, in thought, with an appalling shroud. It now seems astonishing that we should cherish so much apprehension and dread of death. It is the beginning of the realization of the Christian's faith. I already see the coming glories." "Why, Martha," said he to his wife, "this is Paradise. The prospect before me is delightful."

Again he slept. On awaking, he asked a friend what season of the year it was. Being answered that it was winter, he replied, "Can it be possible ? All that I see is verdant and beautiful with the charms of spring." "It does not seem to me," he added, "that we are in a room. The covering over us appears as of a vast tent which scarcely obstructs the vision of the other world ; but here are Martha, and father, and mother, and these friends, and thus I know that I am with you ; but it seems as if the view of Paradise could not be clearer." Again he said, "You know how I have loved the beautiful things of the world ; how dear have been its friendships and its social joys. I am social in my nature, and death I have contemplated as afar off, as an event inevitable indeed, but not immediately threatening. Yet I have also cultivated a taste for the beautiful in eternity, for the loveliness of a life without end in Christ, and can give up all without regret. Death has no appalling features." "Doctor," said he, "is it not strange that when *dying*, as I

know my body is, my mind should apprehend these things so clearly?"

Thus did his human tenderness and Christian rapture blend and alternate with each other, uttering themselves now in words of consolation, now of rejoicing, now of fervent prayer for his family, his friends, and occasionally for himself. It seemed no death-chamber in which the Grand Foe was wreaking his ravages on frail mortality, but a hall whence a conqueror was passing to his triumph and his crown. Over the cold and dark river gleamed a warm and heavenly radiance, and just beyond lay in near prospect the sweet fields and bowers of the spiritual Canaan. The Gospel had saved to the uttermost. It sent down its full salvation into this hour of the utter wrecking of earthly joys and hopes, and filled it with the glories of a coming immortality.

Meantime, in this perfect peace of the expectant child of bliss, nothing was forgotten. All business details were minutely attended to, and directions given marked by his characteristic habits of order and exactness. He spoke of his sermons, and requested that none of them should be published, as they had not been prepared with any view to publication, and none probably realized sufficiently his ideal of pulpit excellence. He selected to preach his funeral sermon, the Rev. Dr. W. Clarke, of Buffalo, Pastor of the church with which he had early been connected, and in which his parents held their communion, and in whom, during his brief ministry in Buffalo, Mr. Coit had found a warm and valued friend. He thoughtfully, however, added the request that Dr. Clarke should not, at the expense of any serious inconvenience to himself, regard this designation as obligatory. He desired that the text of the funeral discourse might be the words in I. Cor. i: 24: "Christ the power of God, and the wisdom of God,"—words on which he had just commenced a sermon, of which he had left the unfinished manuscript lying on his study-table.

After giving particular directions relating to his funeral, he spent some time in further dictating special messages. Among the most touching of these was one to the uncon-

verted of his society and congregation in Rochester, expressing the hope that if the Gospel, which he had tried faithfully to preach to them, had not brought them to a saving knowledge of the truth, his dying testimony might be blest to their salvation. To his attending physicians he expressed his conviction that they had done all that human skill could accomplish for him, and his grateful appreciation of their fidelity and kindness.

The time drew near when life and death were swallowed up in victory. Our sketch presents but a faint outline of that scene which realized so marvellously the words of inspiration: "Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright; for the end of that man is peace." His end was indeed peace; not the peace of stagnation and immobility; but a divine repose shed over all the faculties of the soul; the peace of a spirit quickened to its utmost capacity of conscious communion with God. On Friday noon his powers of articulation failed, although he retained complete consciousness to the last. To the inquiry, if all was peace, he replied with a peculiar, and as if half-rebuking look and tone, "O yes"; and soon after, being asked if he was conscious, he nodded affirmatively, adding in a suppressed voice, "I cannot articulate any more," and again, "Nature refuses the use of her organs"—the last sentence which he uttered. About 2 o'clock P. M., with the word "Christ" on his lips, he expired.

On the following day appropriate services were held in the church in Albion, and an address was delivered by Rev. Mr. Niles, Pastor of the church. The body was then conveyed to Rochester, and his funeral obsequies were celebrated on Tuesday following in St. Peter's Church. A crowded assemblage united in paying the last tribute to his memory, embracing, besides his immediate relatives and friends and the congregation to whom he had ministered, a large concourse of citizens, testifying to their sense of the public bereavement, and a deputation from the church in Albion, where Providence had ordered it that his dying testimony should be rendered. Six clergymen, pastors of churches in the city, and two professors in the University, Rev. Drs. Hall

and Shaw, and Rev. Mr. Ellenwood, Presbyterian; Rev. Mr. Foote, Episcopal; Rev. Mr. Boardman, Baptist; Rev. Mr. Huntington, Methodist; and Rev. Drs. Cutting and Kendrick, united in bearing the pall. The funeral sermon, preached by Rev. Dr. Clarke, from the passage designated by the deceased, forms part of this memorial, and will utter its own eulogy. Rev. Dr. Pease, of the first Presbyterian Church (who has since followed his younger predecessor, dying, similarly, away from his present and in his former home*), offered the opening prayer, and the Scriptures were read by Rev. Dr. Claxton, Rector of St. Luke's. The remains of the deceased were then conveyed to Buffalo to repose amidst the sleeping dust of his kindred in the recently opened cemetery of that city. Nor here was he borne to the grave unhonored. Commemorative services were held in the first Presbyterian Church in which addresses were pronounced by the Pastor, Rev. Dr. Clarke, and Rev. Dr. Heacock, in whose pulpit Mr. Coit had preached his first sermon in 1848, and the benediction was pronounced by the venerable Rev. Dr. M. P. Squier, then visiting in the city, who had been the first Pastor in the church where they were assembled. At the grave the Episcopal burial service was read by the Rev. Dr. Shelton, who had similarly officiated at the burial of Mr. Coit's own mother.

Thus lived and died John T. Coit. It remains to sketch briefly the outlines of his character—a task the more difficult, perhaps, as its evenness and symmetry presented few striking features to lend piquancy to a portrait. It was beautiful and admirable, not by the extraordinary prominence of single traits, but by the harmonious blending and happy balance of

* It may not be out of place to mention, as illustrative of the inscrutable ways of Providence and of the utterly uncertain tenure of human life, that in the summer of 1862 Mrs. Coit was in Northern Vermont, spending some weeks with her husband, her father, and the Rev. Dr. Pease. All these gentlemen seemed then nearly in perfect and even robust health. She, always frail and then acutely ill, was the only invalid of the number. Within a year from that time she was the only survivor. The strong men had bowed themselves, Husband, father, friend, had gone in rapid succession to the tomb, leaving her and others to adore the ways of a Providence which they cannot comprehend.

many. He possessed a generous fulness of nature, which flowed forth in all the nobler virtues of the man and the Christian. In person he was tall, erect, and stoutly and firmly built: his presence and bearing were manly and noble: his fresh and glowing countenance spoke of an exuberant fulness of life and health, while his deep, soft, hazel eye, and his beaming smile, told of a happy flow of spirits, and an unfailing fountain of kindness and benignity. At once gentle and dignified in manner, without a particle of arrogance or assumption, he equally inspired affection and commanded respect. Affable and courteous to all, almost femininely tender in his sympathies, delighting in all the amenities of life, and enjoying with keen relish the pleasures of social intercourse, he yet never for a moment sacrificed the dignity of the Christian gentleman, nor forgot, nor allowed others to forget, that he was a disciple and an ambassador of Christ. Perhaps if we should mention one trait that distinguished him pre-eminently, it was *guilelessness*—a simplicity, a transparency of character that instinctively shunned all disguises and double dealing, and assured you that you saw to the bottom of his soul; that, in the generous unreserve of his nature, he admitted you to the inmost sanctuary of his heart. Yet this transparency of character was neither the offspring nor the parent of thoughtlessness and indiscretion. His utmost frankness was always under the control of a sound practical wisdom and a native dignity, which forbade his forfeiting your respect, or placing himself for a moment in your power. His character was made up equally of simplicity and dignity, of gentleness and firmness, of the naïve spontaneousness of the child and the reflective ripeness of the man.

Of course a leading trait of such a character was *integrity*. None but the upright can afford to be sincere and open. Only the Israelite indeed, the man consciously without guile, can venture to lay bare his heart, to open for general inspection the windows of his soul. Guilt is cowardly, and retreats into darkness. Mr. Coit carried immense weight by his manifest and unquestionable integrity. None doubted the purity of his motives: none deemed it possible to persuade him to sac-

rifice anything to which he attached the sacredness of principle. Facile and compliant in every mere matter of taste or convenience, he was firm as a rock in whatever involved his convictions of truth, duty or honor. He bore this as a powerful weapon of influence in the sacred office. Confidence in the man lent weight to the counsels of the pastor, and the instructions of the preacher. As a slight illustration of this point, we may mention, that near the opening of the revival in Albion, a gentleman, sceptical of religion, was conversing with another, and denouncing all religious profession as humbug and imposture; but then, pausing, made an emphatic exception to the universality of his condemnation in the case of Mr. Coit, admitting that here was one man whose life answered to his profession.

We need scarcely add that Mr. Coit was thoroughly amiable. Rarely are the more solid elements of character more beautifully softened and harmonized by a pervading atmosphere of love. His spirit toward all was kindly and affectionate: no malignant or selfish feeling could find a harbor in his large and generous nature. Though he had ready and severe words of condemnation for all sin, yet his mantle of charity stretched itself broadly over all sinners. He loved to see the good and not the evil, to dwell on the virtues, and not on the vices of humanity. His kindly and loving spirit manifested itself strikingly in his fondness for children. Not favored with their presence in his own home, he yet, wherever he was, found himself drawn resistlessly toward them, shared in their little pleasures, and soothed their childish sorrows. And the unerring instinct of childhood repaid his regards with answering affection. Wherever he went his coming was greeted by the younger members of the household, and while age listened reverently to his instructions, and manhood interchanged with him words of wisdom, the glad heart of childhood bounded towards him, and warmed and expanded itself in his sunny smile of love. As might be expected, then, Mr. Coit's virtues were eminently home virtues. His character shone most brightly in the narrow and more sacred sphere. It bore that most searching of all lights, the light of the do-

mestic fireside. The claims of every relation were met in all their breadth and amplitude. Docile and obedient as a child, tender and affectionate as a brother and a husband, faithful, generous and confiding as a friend,

“None knew him but to love him,
None named him but to praise.”

And the same evenness and symmetry which marked his moral traits, marked also his intellectual. Clearness of perception, soundness and solidity of judgment, and excellent practical sense, were among his distinguishing qualities. Having had extraordinary advantages of education, of which he had availed himself with conscientious industry, he entered the ministry with scholarly resources unusually ample, but showed no disposition to rest in them. He considered not himself to have attained, but regarded his acquisitions as but a foundation, on which by life-long labor to rear an enduring structure of intellectual excellence. He aspired, indeed, not to eminence in scholarship; for his tendencies were decidedly practical. But he loved study, and feeling deeply the demands of the pulpit upon his best energies, shrank from no labor which he deemed requisite to meet them. He was a sound and judicious thinker, and though not strictly metaphysically inclined, yet was by no means disposed to rest in the commonplaces of religious belief, but loved to explore the deeper mysteries of religious truth. In many conversations we have had occasion to know that his mind was feeling down after the foundation pillars of that spiritual edifice within whose precincts he loved to dwell, and on whose glories he delighted to expatiate.

As a preacher he was solemn, weighty and impressive. Though his discourses were marked by no especial brilliancy, yet they produced effects such as mere brilliancy cannot hope to attain. Sound thought, in clear, forcible and often elegant diction, learning ample but not ostentatious, the essence of reasoning without its forms, a manner natural and earnest, and above all an unaffected and deep-toned piety, made him an instructive and acceptable preacher to all who attended on his ministry. If his hearers were not specially delighted,

they were habitually fed. If their fancies were not tickled, nor their passions inflamed, their understandings were instructed, and their hearts were warmed. They did not ask for bread and receive a stone. They were never put off with florid rhetoric and empty declamation instead of the living truths of the word. Mr. Coit loved the doctrines of the Gospel; they were the light and the joy of his own spirit, and his wish and aim were that they should become also God's power unto salvation to his people. Hence he prepared himself for the pulpit with conscientious fidelity. He wrote his sermons, indeed, rapidly—for he always wrote with fluency—but not until he had studied and thought them through with great care. And when the literary preparation was ended, he still mainly kept himself aloof from all ordinary social intercourse—especially on the Sabbath—in order that by uninterrupted communion with God and the truth, he might possess his soul more completely with the weighty themes which he was to bring before his people. For him to enter the pulpit was no light matter. It was like entering the presence chamber of Jehovah, and he could not bear to bring into the sanctuary either unbeaten oil or unconsecrated vestments. As a matter of course, therefore, he was a growing preacher—growing in all the best qualities of a preacher—in depth and range of thought, in simplicity and vigor of style, in fervor of feeling and in general pulpit power.

As a Pastor his record is in the hearts of two large congregations, to whose spiritual wants he ministered. He was unwearied in promoting in every way both the temporal and the spiritual interests of his flock. As every true pastor should be and is, he was especially tender of the lambs of the flock, and especially attentive to the poor, the sick, and the sorrowing. To these the Gospel consecrates its tenderest ministries of love, and in them he delighted to show himself a true minister of Jesus Christ. He was skilful in conducting the affairs of the church, and while gracefully deferring to the wishes of his brethren, yet by timely suggestions, he almost always succeeded in accomplishing the ends which he thought specially desirable. In a word Mr. Coit was an exemplary and

devoted minister. To him the sacred office was no sinecure. He entered it neither as a place for indulging ignoble ease, nor for winning literary laurels, but for serving honestly the interests of the Church, and the Church's Lord. And his Master, whom he honored, honored him ; honored him in life by making his ministry largely effectual to the edifying of the Church, and winning of the impenitent to Christ : honored him in death by crowning, with a divine peace and a rapturous hope that melted almost into vision, his closing hours.

We might prolong our sketch by dwelling on other elements of a character beautiful in its harmony, and unalloyed by any element of meanness, but, on the contrary, developing every manly and every Christian virtue ; on his love of nature, and his passionate admiration of all that was beautiful alike in nature and art ; on his generous and catholic spirit, which, free from every taint of personal jealousy or sectarian bigotry, recognized and loved excellence wherever it found it : in, short on the delightful cluster of human virtues crowned and harmonized by the transfiguring power of grace, which enshrined him, living, in multitudes of hearts, and enshrines him, dead, in their most precious memories. But we may not linger. God has taken him into nearer and more intimate union with Himself, and with that Saviour whom he served below. But the life of his life survives. His memory and influence remain, a part of that treasure of saintly influences which is the precious and growing heritage of the Church. Brief as was his career, and seemingly unfinished as was his work, it will re-appear, rounded into a full completeness, in the day when the finished records of time shall form the opening page of the great volume of eternity.

RESOLUTIONS

Adopted at a Meeting of St. Peter's Congregation.

At a meeting of the Congregation of St. Peter's Church of the city of Rochester, held at the Lecture Room, on the evening of Wednesday, January 28, 1863, a Committee, consisting of E. A. Raymond, J. C. Chumasero, L. D. Ely, J. B. Ward and George P. Townsend, was appointed, who reported the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:

1. That we bow with reverence and submission before that mysterious Providence of God which removed from us on Friday, the 23d day January, inst., by a sudden and overwhelming dispensation, our beloved Pastor, **REV. JOHN T. COIT.**

2. That we mourn the loss of one, to whose able, instructive and eloquent pulpit ministrations, and to whose direct, faithful and evangelical teachings, so full of the learning of the scholar, so graced with the beauties and riches of literature, so destitute of self, and yet, above all, so replete with the glorious Gospel of our Faith, we accord our cheerful and hearty testimony.

3. That we will ever cherish in grateful remembrance his fidelity, constancy and sympathy as a pastor; his genial, cordial and gentlemanly demeanor; the ingenuousness and simplicity of his character, the equanimity and serenity of his temper, his noble and well developed manhood, which, united with a dignified and winning presence, presented a rare and impressive combination of human excellencies.

4. That by his blameless life, devoted to the high office of the gospel ministry and full of good works, he illustrated to admiration and commended to the reception of our hearts, the doctrines and precepts of our holy religion, which flowed from his pen and lips, and were hallowed by a death made triumphant and transcendently beautiful by the seen and felt glories of an opening Paradise.

5. That we receive as a precious legacy his last message to us, to "grow in grace and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ," and while we feel our loss to be irreparable, we rejoice in the assurance that it is his infinite and eternal gain.

6. That these resolutions be entered upon the minutes of the Trustees, and a copy sent to the widow and parents of the deceased.

The Congregation of St. Peter's have caused to be placed on the interior wall of the Church a beautiful Mural Tablet, executed in New Jersey free stone, after a design by Upjohn, with the following inscription :

Sacred to the memory of
John Townsend Coit,

Obt. Jan. 23, 1863, Aet. 38 years. Pastor of this Church from June 1, 1860, to his early death. To a character of marked symmetry, purity and tenderness, he added a ripe culture, an exalted piety, and faithful devotion to the work of a Christian Pastor. His life of faith was crowned by a death of triumphant hope.

S E R M O N

PREACHED IN

ST. PETER'S CHURCH, ROCHESTER,

JANUARY, 1863,

AT THE FUNERAL OF THEIR LATE PASTOR,

REV. JOHN T. COIT,

BY

REV. DR. WALTER CLARKE.

OF BUFFALO.

ROCHESTER:

E. DARROW & BROTHER.

1864.

DISCOURSE.

THE lamented brother whose obsequies we perform to-day, desired that I should discourse to you, dear friends, on this occasion, from a text upon which he had commenced a Sermon, that lies yet unfinished upon his study table. That text, I need hardly tell you, especially if you knew his temper as a Christian and his aim as a Pastor, had reference to the Saviour, to whom he had entrusted his own soul, and whose merits and message it was his growing delight, as it was his constant practice, to proclaim to his fellow men. The passage which he had taken for the theme of his intended discourse, and which he sent to me to be the substance and guide of my remarks to-day, may be found in

I. CORINTHIANS i: 24.

Christ, the power of God, and the wisdom of God.

The apostle was writing to Jews, who relied for the most part upon divine power, and to Greeks who depended mainly upon the divine wisdom, to achieve salvation in the souls of men. Placing these two classes of readers before him, he said, Jesus Christ is what you both want. In Him is treasured that wisdom which the Greek covets but cannot find—in Him resides that power for which the Jew inquires, but inquires in vain. We preach to you Jesus Christ, the power of God and the wisdom of God.

“Preach my funeral sermon from that precious text,” said the dear dying brother. That is, as I understand him,—that is, as all you who know what was deepest and sweetest in his heart will understand him also—that departing brother

and dying man desired to set it forth as the fruit of all his studies, the conclusion of all his attainments, the essence and sum of all that he believed or felt or valued—that Jesus Christ his Saviour is the wisdom of God to those whose ignorance inquires for truth, and the power of God to those whose weakness demands assistance. In this one thought his religious experience had reached its ripest form. So that for himself, as a man letting go of mortality and venturing into the unknown and the everlasting, he desired to say, folding himself within the embrace of this most precious and most comforting conclusion, “The Saviour whom I so calmly trust and so confidently commend, is the wisdom of God, present among men to instruct their ignorance; is the power of God taking hold of men to assist their weakness.” In like manner, it seems to me that this dear and faithful servant of Christ desired to complete his ministry by adding this last and finishing act;—saying at the conclusion, as he had said so many times in its progress—saying in his last sermon, as he said in almost every sermon, “Jesus Christ is the embodiment of God’s truth for the illumination of man’s darkened intellect—is the arm of his power for the rescue of man’s enslaved and impotent will.” The dutiful son, the devoted husband, the loving brother, the tender associate, the faithful friend, the saint, the scholar, the shepherd, the citizen, the man—have ripened into one issue, and all that there was of John T. Coit is left us in this last testimony, that Jesus Christ is the wisdom of God and the power of God to those that believe.

It was the dying request of our departed brother, that at his funeral, not himself but his Master should be the great theme of meditation and remark. “Preach to the people who come to testify their regard for me, not of me mainly, or of me first—tell them first, and tell them faithfully, that Jesus Christ is, for every one who believes, the wisdom of God and the power of God.”

We will do as he desired, dear friends, and will discourse and hear of his Saviour first, and afterward of him.

Wisdom and power. Wisdom and power sent down to men, to deliver from darkness and reclaim from death—God's wisdom and God's power commissioned to such a task—God's wisdom and God's power embodied in the person and appearing in the work of Jesus Christ—these are the thoughts set forth in our text, and upon which we are now to meditate.

As I have said, the apostle was writing to two very different classes of readers, to Jews who had been taught in the synagogue, and Greeks who had become expert in philosophy. Both parties confessed that the race had fallen, and that man's first interest and first necessity was salvation from the bondage and the ruin of sin. But when they thought of a remedy, and asked themselves what the great Father above would need to send to men to accomplish their redemption, the Greek, mindful of his ignorance, said, He must send us wisdom; while the Jew, feeling his weakness, answered, No, not his wisdom—we can dispense with that—but let Him send rather his power. He has sent you both, said St. Paul, in sending you his Son. For that Son is the wisdom of God, and the power of God.

The Jew was right, then, when he claimed that man could not be saved without the help of God's assisting power. And the Greek was equally right when he declared that there could be no salvation without the aid of God's discovered wisdom. And the text gives us, for our first great truth, the fact—

1. That wisdom and power are the two attributes on which our salvation especially depends.

If you would cure man of ignorance, you must send him knowledge, for that is the only antidote which God or man can either devise or furnish. Fiction will not do. Error will not do. Property will not do. Power will not do. One thing, and but one, can remove ignorance: that is, knowledge. If you would send him anything, then, send him what he needs, knowledge.

So, if you would assist man's weakness, you must send him that which alone can answer his needs, strength. No other

gift will accommodate, no other content him. Send him relief, but by all means send him that relief which he needs, assisting strength.

Now sin and all sin is ignorance, and with it weakness. The heathen nations have lost the knowledge of God. Wicked men in Christian lands walk in darkness, and know not the truth. A blind understanding, an obscured intellect, a beclouded soul; eyes that see not, ears that hear not, faculties that grope as in a cavern of eternal gloom—ignorance of God is one of the most impressive characteristics of the fallen mind. And sinners are as helpless as they are ignorant. The slaves of Satan, the captives of lust, they can neither overcome their oppressors nor escape from their imprisonment, nor eradicate their ignorance, nor expel their vices, nor assist, nor recover, nor save their souls. Ignorance waiting the arrival of wisdom, weakness looking forth for strength, this is the condition of the whole fallen family of man. Wisdom and power—these two are what we need, to work in us the salvation for which we pray.

That fallen mind needs wisdom, in order to its restoration from sin, will appear when we reflect, first, that wisdom is the possession of truth; and secondly, that truth is the law of mind. For matter, and all matter, gravitation is law. Here on earth, above among the stars, afar on the outskirts of creation, wherever a sun glitters, or a sphere revolves, or an atom sleeps, everywhere where matter is, gravitation is with it, and with it as law. And wherever in the universe there is mind, be it mind angelic, or mind divine, be it mind in order or mind in revolt, wherever mind is, truth is the law of mind. All the virtues, whether of angels above or of men on earth, consist of simple conformity of mind, in its free operations, to truth in her holy behests. All the vices, be they of demons in their rage, or of men in their greed—all the vices consist in obeying error instead of truth. Would you draw away a holy mind, and lure into revolt and sin? you must extinguish in that mind some accepted truth, and introduce in place of it some chosen delusion, some befitting error. Would you entice a sinner away from his crimes, and

lead him in paths of righteousness? you must dislodge the delusions and brush away the lies that have carried his powers astray, and set in their places the truths which point the way to virtue. Wisdom, wisdom, is the only law for mind. You can never effect recovery for any disordered, or cause a virtue to spring up in any barren soul by the use of ignorance, or error, or doubt, or unbelief. Truth, truth unmixed, truth discovered, truth accepted, truth believed, truth is the only instrument by which mind can be reclaimed from evil, or made to harmonize with duty, or have peace with God. And mind, and all mind, has an instinct of its need in this respect. Hence the search, among all ages and nations, after this lost inheritance, and this needed light, the truth. Patriarchs and sages of olden time, shieks in their tents, shepherds on the hill tops, travelers over the waste, inquired with Job, Where shall wisdom be found, and where is the place of understanding? The Greeks took up the search in their day. Their wise men, impatient of their ignorance, pushed their inquiries to the very confines of knowledge, asking ever for that one most precious, but, alas! that long since lost thing, wisdom. We in our day are renewing this tireless and never-ceasing pursuit for lost wisdom. For this purpose we scale the heavens and question the silent stars; we descend into the caverns and inquire of the speechless rocks; we examine the atoms, we sift the air; we stop the lightning in its course; we interrogate every discovered element; we challenge every passing object, importuning the universe to give us back that which we so much need—wisdom, with which to reconstruct and heal our disordered souls. This universal search for knowledge, I have said, is instinctive. The proof of it is, that it breaks forth among all the scattered races; that it re-appears in all the successive generations; that it continues without interruption, and takes control of the mind, instead of being controlled by it. This undying instinct for knowledge is one of those prophetic omens by which the soul of man unconsciously anticipates and predicts its coming salvation. Because God intended to give to the race, at length, the wisdom which they needed, therefore his Spirit has kept alive in

their hearts the ceaseless desire for it. The Greek sages and their disciples were in the right, then, so far as they alleged and believed that man must repossess that true wisdom which he had lost, in order to his recovery from sin and his restoration to righteousness.

But mere wisdom is never enough to restrain, certainly is never enough to sanctify a fallen mind. This the Greek sages were continually discovering; and the discovery, though they were slow to confess it, gave them continual humiliation and the deepest sorrow. They saw, that while truth had force to mould the intellect, it had no power to regulate the affections or fashion the conduct, or shape, or subdue, or dominate the will. Hence the despair with which all their researches and all their experiments inevitably concluded. Hence the doctrine with which they were forced to finish their philosophy, that while wisdom was the ground of virtue, virtue, nevertheless, could not be taught. What a sad confession is that which Socrates makes, for example, in the *Protagoras*, as described by Plato! "I have observed," says the sage, "that the wisest and best of our citizens are unable to impart to others the excellence which they possess. Pericles himself, in those things in which he is wise, neither instructs nor improves others. And I could name very many to you, who, being good themselves, have never made any one else better, either of their kindred or others. I therefore, looking at these things, think that virtue cannot be taught." Socrates saw, Plato saw, all the wise men of antiquity saw, that if man should acquire never so much wisdom, nay, never so much real wisdom, he would need, in addition to that, a power, yes, a superhuman power, even, to enforce the truth upon his wayward passions, and make his members and his will obedient to its acknowledged behests. "I approve the right," said a pagan poet, giving voice to the common experience of man, "I approve the right, but alas! at the same time, I follow the wrong." Truth can conquer the intellect, as light can compel the eye. But just as the entering light can never cure the disordered brain, or call back to life the disabled lung, so truth set in the intellect can never restrain

the passions or regenerate the will. And just at this point Jewish philosophy stood opposed to that of the Greek. The disciples of the Porch declared that wisdom was the chief instrument of recovery for man, wisdom that informs the intellect and shapes the thoughts. The students of the Synagogue said, on the contrary, that power was the indispensable thing—power that subdues the passions, and subordinates the will, and brings man into harmony with God. And so far as these Jewish teachers alleged the insufficiency of mere wisdom and the need of added power, to mould man's stubborn nature into forms of virtue, they were certainly right. And so we reach our first conclusion, saying, as all the wise of all the ages have said, that wisdom and power must work renovation in man's disordered nature, or he can never be reclaimed from his bondage to error and passion and sin.

And we may remark in the second place,

2. That however the Greek may have erred as to the marks of true wisdom, and the Jew as to the sign of saving power, they were right in declaring, as they did, that God had set apart for man wisdom enough to instruct, and power enough to sanctify him, and that these were attended by appropriate and convincing credentials. Assuming, as all may assume, that since man needs salvation, and has a pitying and powerful Father above, that Father has not failed to provide wisdom and power for his fallen children, it was a very grave question for Greeks and Jews, as it is for us, and for all men, where to look for this depository of provided wisdom, and whither to go to find this treasury of saving power?

The Jew, without searching other fields, said wisdom and power, word and spirit, law and life, are in God, and in Him alone. Behold God is mighty in strength and wisdom, said Elihu, when conversing with Job. Blessed be the name of God, for ever and ever, said Daniel to the King of Babylon, for wisdom and might are his. The wisest of the Greeks acknowledged that the truth which they sought and the power which they needed, were not in themselves nor in the creation where they dwelt, nor in events, nor any where this side the eternal mind. And we, in modern times, have reached the same conclusion: having discovered that objects and ideas and

events are only guides, or gates, or stepping stones, to remoter truths—to which we cannot yet penetrate. All visible and sensible things, the heavens above, the earth on which we stand, clouds and streams and trees, the things that overhang us, the things that encircle us, the things that cast their images continually into our open minds—are not truths; that is they are not the final, the lasting, the real truths. They are beyond—in a realm where spirits reside. And these things are but the shadows which those everlasting verities fling out into space to attract our gaze and lead us upward to the light. Every scientific explorer, every man of thought and insight finds it so. Seek truth on which road he will, and at every stage, it eludes him, and at every advance is farther and farther off. Tell me ye astronomers, ye whose souls, have run like giants along the heavenly pathways, as ye have chased truth from system to system and from star to star, have ye not come back from your farthest journeys, to report that these galaxies are the roads, and these suns the lamps that illumine them; and that creation is only a prepared path on which man is to travel back to God, to find truth and power and being in Him. At every remove there was something beyond you. Whenever you halted, asking where shall wisdom be found and where is the place of understanding,—the depth said, It is not in me; nor in me, answered the sea, while from the abyss, destruction and death called aloud, saying: We have heard the fame thereof with our ears, but cannot tell where it is. Wisdom and power, that wisdom which we need to inform our intellects, that power on which we must rely to restrain our passions and remove our sins, and restore us to virtue and peace, are not in man, are not in events, are not in this visible creation—are in God and in Him alone. So thought the Jew; so the Greek confessed; so we acknowledge.

But if God sends forth these two saving attributes to visit and salute man, by what sign shall the beholder distinguish them? They will come to the world under some intelligible form—under what form? They will make themselves known by some befitting signal—by what signal? On this question the Jew and the Greek found it impossible to agree. The

one conceiving of the saving power, as an emanation of divine wisdom, and having been taught that logic was the law of reason and the touch-stone of truth, imagined that the Greek dialectics were the form of all divine knowledge. All matter, said the Greek, assumes as its characteristic mark, some visible figure, the cube, the sphere, the circle, the triangle. In like manner all truth coming to man clothes itself in some of the formulas of reason, the argument, the demonstration, the syllogism. Nay, he went farther than this, and held that these logical formularies were not convenient mental conceptions merely in which to hold truth, but were truth itself. As if a man who had mastered trigonometry should mistake the shape of the lots, in which lands are laid out, and the boundaries by which they are cut off and separated, for the lands themselves. The Greek said, logic is truth, whereas it is only one of the forms in which the mind can hold truth when it comes.

The Jew, on the other hand, regarding the saving influence as a form of divine power, declared that it would make itself known in all cases by some mighty act. Nay, advancing to the same extreme in regard to the miracle that the Greek had reached in respect to wisdom, he said that it was not the sign only of God's power, but it was the power itself. With such views, the Greek demanded not wisdom, but something else which he mistook for wisdom, to wit, argument, and the Jew required not power, but something which he mistook for it, viz: a miracle. Appealing to Paul, the Greek said, give us argument by all means. Argument that our faith reposing in the wisdom of words may be supported by the force of reason. And for us, said the Jew, display to our admiring gaze those only reliable signs of almighty power—miracles. Thus the Jews required a sign, and the Greeks sought after wisdom. I give you, the apostle answered, neither. On the contrary I withhold argument from the Greeks and miracle from the Jews. For the Christ whom I proclaim and offer, is no mere sign betokening the power of God, or syllogism, leading the way to his truth. He is power itself, and needs no sign. He is truth itself, and requires no argument. The

sophists have logic. Let them weave as many arguments as they will. The Jews have sooth-sayers and miracle-mongers; let them delude themselves with signs. But inasmuch as we who preach Christ have the truth, we publish it; and the power, we proclaim it. And yet, looking at the matter from another point, the apostle added, we give to the Jew the greatest and best of all signs, and to the Greek the highest and most perfect of all demonstrations. Is any miracle, however stupendous, superior to that power from which all miracles proceed? Is any argument more convincing than that truth on which all argument must finally depend? We preach not miracles, but Christ, their source, since this Christ is the power of God: not demonstrations but their substance—Jesus, the way and the truth.

We have then the answer to our second inquiry. The wisdom and power which man needs, to recover him from sin and restore him to righteousness, are incarnated in the person of Jesus Christ; and whoever would recognize and receive them must recognize and receive Him. The Jew must throw aside his passion for miracles; the Greek must abandon his love of logic; and they, and we, and all men, must welcome Jesus Christ to our confiding souls, or our weakness will lose all benefit of the power, and our ignorance all assistance of the wisdom, sent to our use.

Another question must be considered. We have seen that man needs for his salvation these two assisting forces—the wisdom of God and his power. We have seen, secondly, that these forces dwell in the Lord Jesus Christ. Now,

3. Will man in his darkness, inquire for and find them, or must they in their pity visit and make themselves known to man?

If the latter, if it be the order of grace and the plan of redemption, that wisdom and power in the person of Jesus the mediator, shall come to man and reveal themselves to him, then till Christ appears and is accepted, appears to Jews, appears to Greeks, they will see nothing in their signs but signs, and nothing in their arguments but arguments. The Jew will derive no healing power from miracles, the

Greek no saving knowledge from syllogisms. And that was the fact with those to whom the apostle wrote. The Greeks of Corinth had filled their minds with the forms of logic. The Jews had emblazoned their memory with the miracles of the past. But neither of them had the truth of God in their intellects or the power of God in their hearts. And here is a lesson for all people and all times. Man by searching, cannot find out God. In the use of its own wisdom, the world will never know its maker—will never get beyond signs and arguments—the shadows out of which truth long since fled. To be known God must come to us; come to us in a form which we can comprehend; and as he comes for our salvation, comes therefore in the form of power and wisdom; he must come in the person of Jesus Christ; since Jesus Christ is the wisdom and the power of God. I bring Christ to you, said Paul. He does not wait for you to go forth into the all-surrounding darkness and find Him. He is a Saviour at hand, a Saviour to be proclaimed, a Saviour to be preached; and preaching, not argument, preaching, not miracles, preaching is the way to impart to sinners the power and the wisdom of God. For it hath pleased the eternal Father by the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe.

We have one point more. In Paul's day all this was in a sense theory, and theory alone. No full and satisfying experiment had as yet been made to test the claims of Christ and prove to the nations whether he was indeed the power of God and his wisdom, engaged for the salvation of those who believe. The nations had made other experiments and come to the saddest and most settled conclusions. That there was no help and no salvation for the lost, except in the power and wisdom of the Almighty; that if these were not in Christ they were beyond the reach of man to discover, and beyond his power to obtain; that Christ was thus the last hope and only refuge of the perishing race, so much had been proved, so much was settled as the unalterable verdict of experience. But was Christ the power of God and the wisdom of God? Had truth and might come at last, and

come in the person of the Son of Mary? That was a question on which apostles were agreed and converts satisfied. But it was yet to be tested by the disclosures of a world-wide and lasting experiment. When carried to the nations, when preached among the tribes and households of the populous world, when transmitted to distant centuries, and to far off climes, will he be in fact what he is by proclamation—the wisdom of God to enlighten, the power of God to save the souls that believe? That question, my hearers, has long since been answered. Two thousand years have elapsed well nigh, since Paul put down in our text his own certain assurance that the Christ whom he preached, was the wisdom and the power of God. So his wisdom, in such sense his power, that whoever of all the human family should receive Him with a docile and confiding faith, should find in his own experience, that he was made to him wisdom and righteousness and sanctification and redemption. Since that day this Saviour has been proclaimed in almost all lands, and thousands upon thousands of every clime and tongue and people, have embraced Him, and that to see whether he is indeed the power of God and the wisdom of God. And not one of these believing souls has as yet been disappointed. All the old lights of the world have gone out—the schools of the Hebrews, the oracles of the heathen, the groves, the Academy, the wisdom of the Greeks—all these that kept up a little glimmer in the early times, enough to show the world her redeemer when he should arrive, have long since sunk in their sockets and expired in everlasting oblivion. There is no Academy now among the pagan races; no Plato rises up among the nations that sit in the darkness, to point them to the truth. But in christian lands, behold how the day advances! Yes, Jesus Christ is the light of the world, and where He is known, truth shines; and where he is worshipped, virtue grows; and it is too late to doubt now that He is indeed the wisdom and the power of God.

With what reason then did our departed brother so conduct his studies, and so adjust his thoughts, that Christ should be ever the centre and the support of all that was arranged,

or present, or welcome in his mind. That this was the case I need only to recite to you what he had written as the exordium of that last, and alas ! that unfinished sermon, to show. Opening his subject, he said, with what beauty of conception and force of language you will instantly see, when I read to you this last message from his pen and study. "Christ," he writes, "is the beginning and the end—the foundation and the centre—the life and the soul of God's plan of redemption. He is that which gives to it all efficacy, and all value, the source of all its blessings, the sum of all its benefits. His saving offices are the vital, all-subordinating, all-enlivening, all-comprehending elements of the gracious economy. Christ is all and in all. Every system, science, theory, instrument has some underlying principle, by which the whole is shaped, on which the whole is built, with which the whole is pervaded, subordinated, and defined. Christ is that principle in the system of revelation, in the theory of grace, in the knowledge of God, in the instrument which recreates and sanctifies the soul. Christ is the heart in the body of revelation. He is the source and center of all life. He was the hope of the patriarchs, the key of the types, the substance of the ceremonies, the desire of the nations. He is the power, the marrow, the soul of the gospel." Such a place had this dear sainted brother given to his Redeemer in his own soul and among his daily thoughts. And if Christ be, as he believed, the power and the wisdom of God, what other place befits him in any mind, but that central place where all other thoughts shall stand in awe, and do him homage.

What we have said of Christ justifies, also, the peculiar character of our brother's preaching, and that as respects its matter and its manner. Whoever has heard him discourse, and especially whoever has had the happiness to hear him discourse from Sabbath to Sabbath, must have remarked, how in one form and another, Christ was his chosen theme, and to preach Christ his chief delight. He never sought to amuse his hearers with the show of rhetoric, nor to immerse and stupify them in the profundities of logic. He under-

stood what man needs; he knew what Christ can bestow, and to give his hearers that Saviour who was so precious to his own soul, was the leading, perhaps I may say, the only, aim with which he penned his sermons, or entered his pulpit, or discoursed to men. And his tones and his temper told those who listened to his fervent ministrations, that the Christ whom he proclaimed with his lips had a place in his heart, as he had preëminence in his sermons. And all this with reason; for if Christ be the wisdom and the power of God to them that believe, what other message should a Christian pastor convey to his people than that which tells them again of Jesus, the power of God, and the wisdom of God?

The view which we have taken of our text, gives great pertinency, too, to the dying messages which this beloved brother sent to his people, and the children of his Sabbath School, and to the impenitent of his bereaved congregation. "Tell the members of my church," said he, "to grow in grace, and in the knowledge of Christ, and increase in holiness day by day." Knowing the riches of the Redeemer—knowing that in Him are hid all the treasures of wisdom and strength, he desired that his dear flock, for whom he could do no more than send this last pregnant and affecting word, should taste more and more of the Saviour's power to sanctify, and grow in grace daily, and in the knowledge of Him. "Say to the children—Commit yourselves to Christ now in the morning of your days." Yes, to his thought, as he waited there at the gates of death, and expected to enter in and behold his Saviour, that Saviour was the refuge of the little ones, and he could not say adieu to the lambs, over whom he had so fondly watched, till he had once more entreated them to make haste to the Shepherd.

Dear brethren of this bereaved Church! Dear desolate children! without a pastor, will you not heed these precious, these parting words? Let the members of my Church grow in grace! Let the children flock at once to the Saviour! Dear, anxious, dying pastor, shall he not have his last desire among you? Every time you enter within these walls, or your children take their seats at their lessons, shall not

that parting appeal echo in sanctuary and school room, as if there were a voice in the unconscious air, crying again: Let the members of my Church grow in grace, and let the children make haste to Jesus?

The view we have taken of the text, gives a rational account of the beauty of this good man's death.

Those who were present inform me that nothing could exceed the calmness, the serenity, the self-control, the sense of perfect safety, the assurance of coming joy, which marked the closing period of his life. With everything to attach him to his friends and his work; with no previous expectation, and no special thought of a sudden exit; away from home, a home made happy by everything that love can administer, or taste appropriate, or culture, or competence, or society impart; drawn back to life by the entreaties of fond affection, and the agonies of a frantic grief; notified at a moment of the strange and unlooked for call; you have heard how, after one look of astonishment and one expression of surprise, he betook himself instantly to prayer, and parting the veil, and going as it were before himself into the presence of his Saviour, he supplicated, as if he stood face to face with his Father on high, asking with the faith of a son, imploring with the fervor of a saint, that in this hour of his extremity he might be able to depart with full preparation and the most perfect peace. Parting the veil did I say? There was no veil to be parted. To that moment, there had been to his sensitive and sometimes fearful mind, a shadow which seemed a veil resting at the gateway of death; and he had imagined that a gloomy curtain hung between him and heaven. "I have heretofore," said he, "envisioned death with an appalling shadow, but I now see that what was seemingly so dark, when I looked at it from afar, is really the dawning of the day, the realization of the Christian's faith. It does not seem to me that we are in a room. The covering over us appears like a large tent, scarcely obstructing the view of the other world. I know that I am still with you, but it seems to me that the view of paradise could not be clearer."

Parting the veil? There was no veil. A shadow retreated, as he went forward. So that when he reached the glorious gateway through which his soul was to pass to its reward, it stood in the daylight. How that prayer was answered, there are many who will never forget. Such peace possessed his confiding soul that to the last moment he was the stay, and the strength of those who stood around him. I must not draw aside the veil of private sorrow, or intrude into the sacred precincts of domestic grief, to describe to you the terms in which he addressed the dear ones who gathered around that dying couch. I may only say that the two things, which were most manifest and most active in his closing hours, were wisdom and power; light so clear, so abiding, so sufficient, that it dissipated every cloud, and drove away every fear, and made him as calm as if death were but a waking after sleep—light dispelling all darkness, and strength equal to his day—these two were present in all that he said, and thought, and did. And need we wonder when we remember that for many years he had been contemplating in his daily studies, and setting forth in his ceaseless ministrations, and receiving into his own mind and heart, that Christ, whom it was his joy to conceive and his effort to portray, as the wisdom and the power of God for them that believe. If Christ be our wisdom, where do we need his ineffable light, if not there in the valley of the shadow of death? And if he be our strength, when will he help us, if not when flesh and heart fail, and we have no other reliance and no other prop? Our brother preached to his fellow-men, Jesus, the wisdom of God and the power of God. And when his task was ended, and his ministry done, and his tongue could no more articulate, and his lips no more proclaim the blessed tidings, Jesus himself dwelling in the heart of his servant, said to all who stood by: “Behold I am his light—he shall fear no darkness: and I his strength, he shall have victory in death.”

The view we have taken of our text may assist the thoughts of all those who lament the departure of this man of God—as they try to follow his unfettered soul into that other world

to which he has been summoned. He has gone from us ; from the blissful home, from the loved ones who were his joy on earth, from vigils and studies and toils pursued here, from the desired sanctuary, and the dear flock—his spirit has glided gently away. But that spirit has not parted from him whom it so often welcomed and worshipped in these earthly conditions. And He who was his wisdom and strength, while he lingered in this lower life, is now his wisdom and strength in a far higher and happier sense. On earth he strove to fill his soul with light, and life, and power drawn from his Redeemer. To receive more of Christ, it was necessary that he should burst the bands of the contracting flesh, and go forth into liberty and largeness and joy. Think of him, ye sorrowing ones, as absent, indeed, from the body, but present with the Lord. Think of him as partaking of Christ's fulness, drinking in light and strength and salvation ; as having knowledge now of the full meaning of that chosen passage which says that Jesus is the wisdom of God, and the power of God to them that believe.

And do not forget, dear sorrowing friends, that this same Christ who was wisdom and power to the departed, is in like manner a light for you, to irradiate all your sorrows, and a strength to sustain you in all your afflictions. Could he carry that dear one so gently and so peacefully through the gates of death, and can he not bear you up and comfort you, as you journey through the vale of grief? It was for you that he meant this precious text should be repeated over these funeral rites—that you might remove your growing darkness, and invigorate your failing strength by thinking again of Jesus, who is for us who remain, as for those who have gone before to the skies, the wisdom of God, and the power of God.

And does not the memory of our text and the message of your departed shepherd, awaken in you who have hitherto received no benefit from his ministry, a serious inquiry whether you do well to reject the overtures, and resist the invitations of Him, who is the wisdom and the power of God? Is there any other refuge to which you can betake yourselves—any other helper in whom you can confide?

Did you ever hear of a sinner dying as this man died? My impenitent hearers, how do you expect to die? Whither will you turn for courage and strength and tranquillity, in the parting moment? Is it wise, is it grateful, is it safe, to slight any longer that Being whose presence makes the saint's death so tranquil, whose absence makes the sinner's death so appalling?

And shall not we, dear brethren, who have part in the ministry of Christ, gather new lessons from the life and the death of our honored and lamented brother? To preach Christ, Christ the power of God and the wisdom of God, to testify of him in our pulpits, as we hope to testify of him in our last moments—to embody him in our thoughts—to declare him in our sermons—to worship him in our souls, and having done this, to be owned of him in the dying hour? This is the service to which we are called. May the power of Christ, and his truth be in us as it was in him whose untimely death we to-day deplore.

John Townsend Coit was born in the city of Buffalo, of worthy parentage and into affluent conditions, on the 8th day of May, 1824. From earliest childhood, under the careful training of that mother whose premature death, not her friends alone, but the entire community had such cause to lament, he evinced those traits of gentleness, sympathy and self-control, which have given such symmetry to his subsequent manhood, and such a charm to his ripened character. Equable, affectionate and utterly unselfish, it was not strange that in the school, the college, and among his associates he was ever a favorite, and few could know him long and call him by any other name than that of the beloved John. Combining in his remarkable temperament the delicacy, sensibility and grace that belong to woman, with the substance and force that characterize a man, he exhibited that double nature that made it difficult to determine which of his friends loved or were loved the most, those who were attracted by his gentler traits, or those who admired and took hold of his more solid proportions. At the age of sixteen, in the year 1840, he entered Yale College, and was at

once distinguished among his fellow students for kindness of manners, for decorum of demeanor, for culture, for intelligence, for taste, for virtue. Having graduated in 1844, with an honored memory and a disciplined mind, he entered upon the study of divinity, first in private and at home, afterward at Andover, in Massachusetts, where he completed the customary course, and might have entered with credit at once upon his work as a preacher. But desiring to continue and perfect his preparations for the sacred office, and especially to acquire the benefit of study and travel in other lands, and having the amplest resources at his command, in 1850 he went abroad and devoted himself for ten years, to the pursuits of learning as they are conducted in the best Universities of Europe. Attending lectures at Gottingen and Halle, making acquaintance with the most eminent teachers of the continent, residing for a time in the family of that great man, to whom America and the world owes so much, Tholuck ; visiting Switzerland, France and the North of Italy, he replenished himself with the seeds of a life-long culture, and came back to commence in earnest the ministry which he had chosen. And it has been with the greatest satisfaction, his friends have again and again observed, that while he has shown the richest fruits of study derived from the German schools, and especially from the German language, he has also shown that the seductions of Teutonic reason, and the mists and uncertainties of continental criticism, did nothing to distract his attention or divert his gaze from the simple verities of that gospel which he had received from a mother's lips, and that his faith was as unclouded and his zeal as intense and his aim as simple to the last, as when at the opening of his christian life, he gave himself to the discipline of truth and the ministry of the word. His first sermon was preached in Buffalo, in the pulpit, and at the solicitation of his early friend and associate, the Rev. Dr. Heacock. He was soon engaged to minister statedly at St. Peter's Church in this city, where he remained for six months, having laid the foundation for that confidence, unanimity, and devoted and beautiful love, which the congregation in after years so willingly

expressed towards their chosen pastor. At the end of this brief stay in Rochester, Mr. Coit accepted a call from the Presbyterian Church in Albion—a call honorable alike to them who gave it, and to him who received it. How ardently he loved that first flock and was loved in turn; with what zeal, with what labor, with what abundant and enduring success, he pursued his ministry in that growing congregation; how the people esteemed him; how God gave him honor and growth and approbation, a stranger may not even try to tell. But the joy that gathered hundreds to that sanctuary, the Sabbath before the last to hear again the well known voice, and the grief that thrust through so many disappointed hearts as the sick man descended the pulpit and was borne to his lodgings, the tender assiduity that watched around his sick bed, or waited for tidings at the door, with the anguish that wept in that sanctuary and has come to weep again in this over the loved and the lost; these things bespeak the happiness of that union which made such a man the pastor of such a church. Remaining in Albion five years, Mr. Coit, at the earnest solicitation of St. Peter's Church, whose members had never forgotten their love, or given over their purpose concerning him, removed to Rochester and was installed here in 1860. With what ardor, industry and untiring love, he has pursued his work since he had charge of this important congregation, the hundreds who waited on his ministry and counted it their joy to do so, are prompt to declare.

How his faculties unfolded and his virtues improved, with every added year of culture—how symmetrical, how affectionate, how graceful were all his manners—how clearly he saw, and how profoundly he loved whatever was pure and truthful and good—with what ardor he yielded himself to the charms of nature, the amenities of society and the delights of learning—how he enriched his mind, how he adorned his sermons, how he beautified his own life, with every refinement which art could suggest, or study discover, or letters afford—how he attracted strangers, how he satisfied friends, how he won the confidence of children; with what

an enlarged and manly spirit he took hold of every human interest, and made himself familiar with every human feeling; what honesty he had, what simplicity, what singleness of purpose and wish; how thoroughly his love of Christ had blended with his original character, and how complete and faultless he was from this perfect commingling of a sanctified temper, with a mellow and well rounded nature, I who have seen him but a few times have fully discovered: you who knew him from boyhood, and knew him so well, can more abundantly declare.

But the ripe and genial scholar, the great hearted and generous man, the loving friend, the accomplished gentleman, the faithful pastor, the finished saint, has passed away: and we mourn that we shall hear his step, and grasp his hand, and gaze upon his beaming and kindly face no more, while waiting here among the living. Our children will not run to meet him—our sanctuaries will not open to welcome him—our hearts will not leap at the sound of his coming—his study is silent—his books have no companion—his pen lies unused—his sermon waits to be finished. This flock is bereaved—this pulpit empty—this city a mourner! Yes, and there are houses, oh! how afflicted, and a home, oh! how desolate. For a tender husband and loving brother, and a son dearer than a father's life or a mother's joy, has gone, suddenly gone, to be with the Lord. But where he is, there are mansions for us; and the same Redeemer who came and took him so gently, so kindly, and with such a memorable display of grace, and power and victory, will come also, and come quickly, to call us and all his children to his presence on high. We part here—part for a little time. We meet again—meet quickly, on the other side of life; where sorrow is no more dark, and death no more appalling, and separation and loneliness and grief are no more possible to those who have made Christ their strength in the day of their weakness, and Christ their light in the hour of their darkness, and Christ their song in the house of their pilgrimage. Thus saith the Lord who created thee, O Jacob, and He that formed thee, O Israel. Fear not, for I have redeemed thee, and thou

art mine. When thou passest through the waters I will be with thee; and through the rivers, they shall not overflow thee. When thou walkest through the fire, thou shalt not be burned; neither shall the flames kindle upon thee; for I am the Lord thy God, the Holy one of Israel, thy Saviour.

SANDWICH ISLANDS MISSION OF THE AMERICAN BOARD OF
COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

HAWAIIAN EVANGELICAL ASSOCIATION,

AT ITS

ANNUAL MEETING IN HONOLULU,

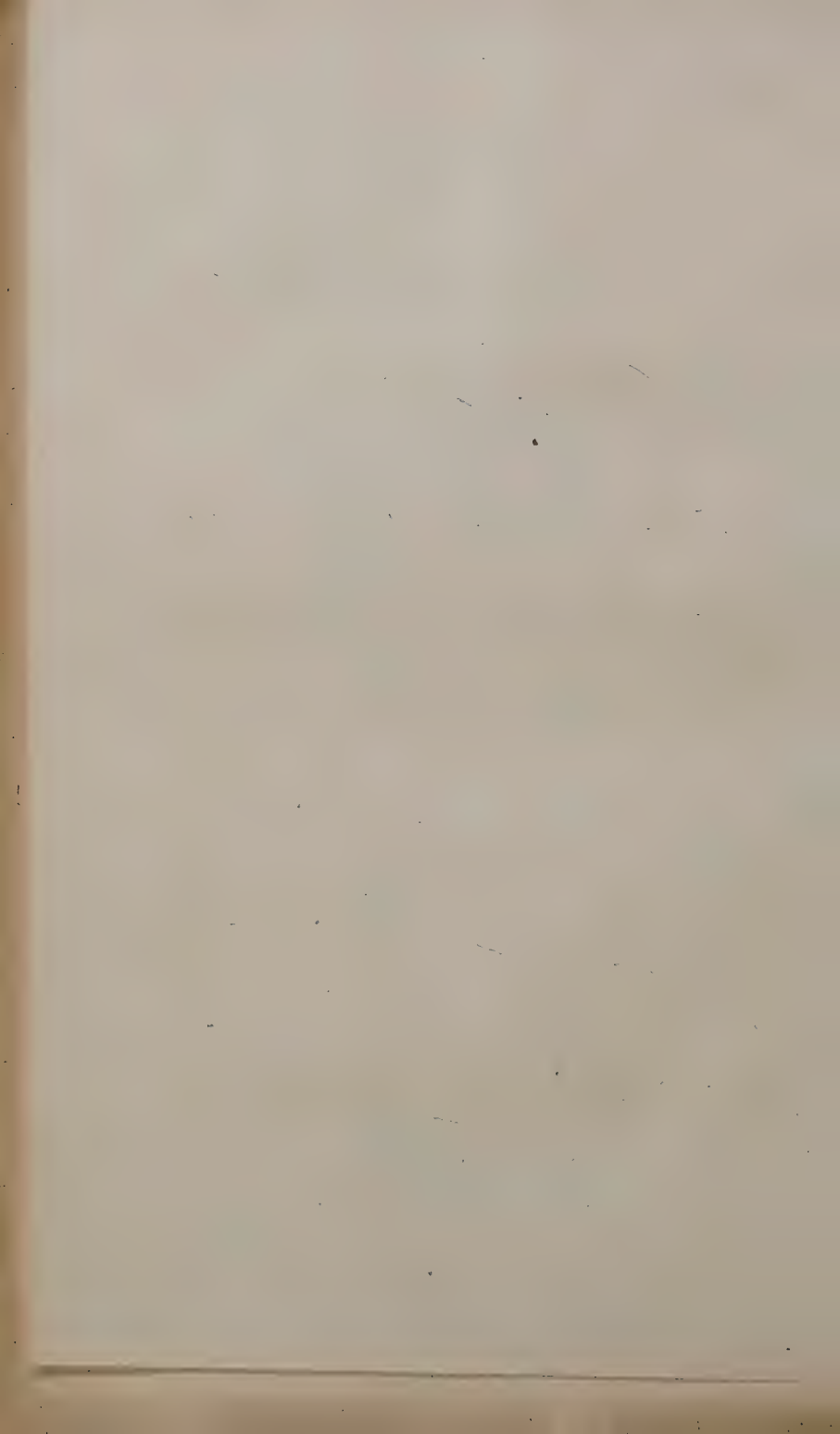
JUNE 3, TO JULY 1, 1863.

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1864.



PRELIMINARY STATEMENT.

THE reasons for the visit of Dr. Anderson, Foreign Secretary of the Board, to the Sandwich Islands, in the first half of the year 1863, sufficiently appear in his Introductory Address, at pp. 35-54 of these Proceedings. He embarked at New York, January 12, 1863, going by way of the Isthmus and San Francisco, and arrived at Honolulu, on the 27th of February. Leaving the Islands on his return, July 6th, he landed at New York on the 6th of September.

The results of the very important meeting of Missionaries and Foreign Pastors held during this visit, are contained in the Minutes of the Meeting, and in the Reports drawn up and adopted on that occasion. The Letter to the King shows that these things were not "done in a corner," but with the impression that His Majesty must needs approve of them, and with a desire that he should know the whole. The action of the Prudential Committee and of the Board on these proceedings, is appended as a thing of course.

Mention is made, in the action of the Prudential Committee, of a Report to be made by the Secretary. There

has been an unexpected delay in the preparation and publication of this document, owing to the difficulty of compressing the materials into the space proper for a Report, and more to the imperative claims of other official duties after so long an absence. And now it seems probable that there will be a volume, though not of large size, instead of a pamphlet, dropping altogether the form of a report; and to this change of plan the Secretary has been encouraged by the Prudential Committee and his associates at the Missionary House.

As the Minutes do not give a list of those who were present to constitute the Meeting, the deficiency is here supplied.

I. FROM HAWAII.

Rev. JOHN D. PARIS, from South Kona.

Rev. O. H. GULICK, from Kau.

Rev. TITUS COAN, Rev. DAVID B. LYMAN, and CHARLES H. WETMORE, M. D., from Hilo.

Rev. ELIAS BOND, from Kohala.

Rev. ASA THURSTON, of Kailua, and Rev. LORENZO LYONS, of Waimea, were absent in consequence of sickness.

II. FROM MAUI.

Rev. DWIGHT BALDWIN, M. D., from Lahaina.

Rev. JOHN F. POGUE, from Lahainaluna.

Rev. WILLIAM P. ALEXANDER, from Wailuku.

Rev. SERENO E. BISHOP, from Hana.

III. FROM MOLOKAI.

Rev. ANDERSON O. FORBES, from Kalauaha.

IV. FROM OAHU.

Rev. EPHRAIM W. CLARK, Rev. LOWELL SMITH, Rev. PETER J. GULICK, Rev. ARTEMAS BISHOP, Rev. LORRIN ANDREWS, Rev. E. CORWIN, (Pastor of the Foreign Church,) Rev. S. C. DAMON, (Pastor of the Bethel Church,) Rev. HENRY H. PARKER ; and Messrs. GERRITT P. JUDD, M. D., HENRY DIMOND, EDWIN O. HALL, SAMUEL N. CASTLE, and AMOS S. COOKE, from Honolulu.

Rev. CYRUS T. MILLS, and Prof. WILLIAM DE WITT ALEXANDER, from Punahou.

Rev. BENJAMIN W. PARKER, from Kaneohe.

Rev. JOHN S. EMERSON, from Waialua.

V. FROM KAUAI.

Rev. GEORGE B. ROWELL, from Waimea.

Rev. JAMES W. SMITH, M. D., and Rev. DANIEL DOLE, from Koloa.

Rev. EDWARD JOHNSON, and Mr. ABNER WILCOX, from Waioli.

VI. CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

Rev. RUFUS ANDERSON, D. D., the Foreign Secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, from Boston, United States.

Rev. EDWARD T. DOANE, from Ebon, Micronesia Mission.

Rev. J. BICKNELL, formerly connected with the Marquesas Mission.

The wives of most of the above-named persons were also present. Also Mrs. Mercy Whitney, Mrs. Clarissa Armstrong, Mrs. Maria Chamberlain, Mrs. Rebecca Hitchcock, Mrs. Mary S. Rice, and Mrs. Jane Shipman, widows of deceased missionaries ; and Miss Maria Ogden, and Miss Lydia Brown.

The Hawaiian Evangelical Association began its sessions on the 3d day of June, 1863, and closed them on the 1st of July. There were intermissions, to attend the Annual Examination and the Commencement Exercises of the Oahu College, and for other purposes; but the deliberations occupied twenty-one days.

HAWAIIAN EVANGELICAL ASSOCIATION.

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL MEETING.

THE HAWAIIAN EVANGELICAL ASSOCIATION met at the Hawaiian School House, at 9 A. M., on Wednesday, June 3, 1863.

Rev. W. P. Alexander was elected Moderator by ballot.

The exercises were then opened with prayer by Mr. Alexander.

On motion of S. E. Bishop, O. H. Gulick was elected a member of the Association.

O. H. Gulick was elected Scribe.

On motion of Mr. Castle, the following persons were by vote made Corresponding Members of the Association, viz.: Rev. Rufus Anderson, D. D., and Messrs. E. T. Doane, E. O. Hall, G. P. Judd, H. Dimond, J. Bicknell, and W. D. Alexander.

On motion of Mr. Castle, half an hour was spent in prayer.

On motion of Mr. Coan, Messrs. Parker, Clark, and Coan were appointed a committee on overtures.

Voted, That Mr. Forbes be Assistant Scribe.

Voted, That the first business of to-morrow be to attend to the Address of Dr. Anderson.

Voted, That our sessions be private, unless by special vote to the contrary.

Henry H. Parker was elected a member of the Association.

Mr. Parker, from the committee on overtures, reported in part, proposing the following committees, which were appointed, viz.:

1. On Religious Exercises; Messrs. L. Smith, Corwin, and Damon.

2. On General Letter to the Board; Messrs. Paris, Bond, and J. W. Smith.

3. On Minutes; Messrs. L. Smith, O. H. Gulick, and D. Dole.

4. On Assignments; Messrs. Rowell, Pogue, and Baldwin.

The Moderator read a letter from Mrs. L. G. Lyons, stating that, owing to sickness, Mr. Lyons would be unable to attend the session, and that, for the same reason, his report was not ready.

Voted, on motion of Mr. L. Smith, That the hours of business be from 9 to 12, and in the afternoon from 1 to 3.

Mr. Corwin, from the committee on religious exercises, reported, and the report was adopted.

Voted, That 1 P. M., to-morrow, be the hour at which the body will receive the statement of a committee of Trustees of the Queen's Hospital.

At 11 A. M., the reading of station reports was commenced and continued through the day.

THURSDAY, JUNE 4.

Met at 9 A. M., and after half an hour spent in prayer, the Minutes were read and approved.

At half past 9, Dr. Anderson commenced his Address, closing at half past 10.

Voted, on motion of Mr. Clark, That the Chairman appoint a committee to nominate the several committees on the subjects treated of by Dr. Anderson, and the following persons were appointed on this committee, viz.: Messrs. Paris, Pogue, Clark, B. W. Parker, and J. W. Smith.

The reading of station reports was resumed at 10½, and occupied the remainder of the day.

FRIDAY, JUNE 5.

Business was commenced at half past 9, A. M., by reading the Minutes.

The following committees were appointed on the topics suggested by Dr. Anderson, viz. :

1. Messrs. J. W. Smith, B. W. Parker, and Forbes.
2. Messrs. Pogue, H. Parker, and Forbes.
3. Messrs. S. E. Bishop, Dole, and L. Andrews.
4. Messrs. Damon, L. Smith, and Johnson.
5. Messrs. Coan, Baldwin, and Hall.
6. Messrs. Paris, Judd, and Corwin.
7. Messrs. Clark, Castle, and Lyman.
8. Messrs. W. P. Alexander, Mills, and Rowell.
9. Messrs. Bond, Doane, and P. J. Gulick.

The reading of station reports was resumed.

Judge Andrews submitted a report of several years of labor, in the shape of five manuscript volumes,—his HAWAIIAN DICTIONARY,—now in great measure prepared for the press; containing not fewer than ten thousand Hawaiian words.

Mr. Doane gave an informal report concerning the Micronesia Mission.

At 1 P. M., Mr. Clark reported on the Book department.

The Association then proceeded to consider and discuss the subject. Adjourned to Monday.

MONDAY, JUNE 8.

Business was commenced at a quarter of 10, A. M., by the reading of the Minutes.

On motion of Mr. Castle, Dr. Judd and Mr. Hall were elected members of this Association.

Dr. Anderson then made a statement of several additional items of business, which it would be desirable for this body to consider.

He then proceeded to speak on the topic No. 1, after which the discussion of it became general.

At 3 P. M., No. 1 was left with the committee.

On motion of Dr. Judd, it was voted, That Mr. Castle ascertain at what time His Majesty will receive a call from this body, with Dr. Anderson.

Voted, That a committee of two be appointed to consider the measures necessary to promote the distribution of Hawaiian Bibles. Messrs. Clark and Bond were appointed this committee.

TUESDAY, JUNE 9.

At 9½ A. M., the Minutes were read, and amended.

The discussion upon subject No. 2. was opened by Dr. Anderson, and continued by others through the day.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 10.

After the half hour of prayer, business was opened at 9½ A. M. Minutes were read and approved.

A letter from Mr. Lyons, addressed to the Association, and accompanying the statistics of the church, was read by Mr. Castle, and it was voted, That the Moderator reply in behalf of the Association. On motion of Mr. Damon, it was voted, That no member speak more than once on any subject, till every other member has an opportunity to speak, except with the permission of the Moderator, and that no speech exceed ten minutes.

No. 2 was then committed, and the Association took up the third subject.

Mr. Clark made a statement of the publications in the Hawaiian language, and of the books now on hand. Dr. Anderson submitted a letter from H. M. Whitney, Esq., on the subject of publications, which was read and referred to the committee. The discussion on Hawaiian literature continued till noon.

Voted, That this body will receive a committee of the Trustees of the Queen's Hospital to-morrow, at a quarter of 12.

At 1 P. M., met and resumed the discussion upon Hawaiian literature, including that of Hawaiian newspapers.

Mr. S. E. Bishop read an Essay on the Importance of Pictorial Illustrations, in books prepared for such a people as the Hawaiian ; after which the subject was referred to the committee.

The discussion was then resumed on topic No. 4, and after half an hour, the subject was committed.

The discussion on topic No. 5 was entered upon.

At 3 P. M., adjourned.

THURSDAY, JUNE 11.

Exercises were opened as usual by the half hour of prayer. Minutes were read. The consideration of subject No. 5 was then resumed.

On motion of Mr. Paris it was voted, as the opinion of the Association, That the receiving of instruction in the Hawaiian language may properly be a condition of any scholar's being aided by the American Board in the expenses of attending Oahu College.

No. 5 was then committed.

The Association received Messrs. Castle and Damon as the committee of the Trustees of the Queen's Hospital ; and Mr. Castle read a report of the state of the funds of the Hospital ; the object of their visit being to solicit the aid of the members of this body, in obtaining contributions from the people for the Hospital.

After recess, on motion of Mr. Coan, the following preamble and resolution were adopted ; viz. :

The Hawaiian Evangelical Association having heard the appeal of the committee of the Trustees of the Queen's Hospital in view of the present pecuniary wants of that institution ;

Resolved, That we feel a sincere and deep interest in that institution, as one designed to relieve suffering in this land, and

that we will recommend to friends and natives, over whom we have influence, to contribute to its funds in its present emergency.

The Association then proceeded to discuss topic No. 6. At half past 2 P. M., the discussion was closed, and the subject committed.

Dr. Anderson read to the Association an extract of a letter he had received from Mr. Wyllie, Secretary of Foreign Affairs, dated 5th of March; also a letter which he had subsequently addressed to Mr. Wyllie from South Kona.

FRIDAY, JUNE 12.

The half hour of prayer and devotional exercises was observed as usual, and business was opened at 9 A. M., by the reading of Minutes.

The discussion upon No. 7 was opened by Dr. Anderson, and continued till 12 M. At half past 1 P. M., it was committed.

The discussion of No. 8 was then commenced.

Voted, That the Minutes of the Association, or prospective central ecclesiastical body, be kept in both the Hawaiian and English languages.

No. 8 was referred to the committee.

Voted, That any one interested in the discussion of Micronesia matters, be at liberty to attend to-morrow at 10 A. M., when the discussion of that subject will be taken up.

SATURDAY, JUNE 13.

The meeting was opened at 10 A. M., with prayer, and the reading of the Minutes, which were amended.

The discussion of topic No. 9 was opened by Dr. Anderson, he presenting the proposed change in the manner of working the Micronesia field, through the Hawaiian Evangelical Association. Mr. Doane followed with a statement of his views upon

the general subject of evangelizing Micronesia. Extracts were read from a letter addressed by Dr. Gulick to Dr. Anderson. After further discussion, at 11½, the whole subject was put into the hands of the committee.

Adjourned to meet at 9 A. M., Monday. The exercises were closed with prayer by Rev. P. J. Gulick.

MONDAY, JUNE 15.

The half hour of prayer was observed as usual. At a quarter to 10 A. M., the Minutes were read.

Mr. Mills having stated that it would be difficult for the young people of Punahou to attend the meeting appointed for this evening in this place, at which Dr. Anderson was expected to address them, it was voted, on motion of Dr. Baldwin, That the said meeting be deferred till Saturday evening.

Dr. Smith, from the committee on topic No. 1, reported; and on motion of Mr. Coan, the report was accepted. On motion of Mr. Clark, the last clause, proposing to give to the missionary fathers the right of trial at the meeting of the Association, was struck out. The motion to strike out the word "ordinarily" was lost. After a few verbal amendments, the report was adopted.

Mr. Pogue, from the committee on topic No. 2, reported, and the report was accepted. In the afternoon session, the report was amended, on motion of Mr. Pogue, by striking out one sentence relating to English schools; the report was then adopted.

Mr. Corwin having stated, that Mr. Hall had this day heard of the death of his oldest daughter, the Association united with Mr. Paris in prayer for the afflicted family.

On motion of Mr. Corwin, it was voted, That the subject of the care of Mr. Lyons' field, should he be incapacitated by his present sickness, be referred to the Association of Hawaii.

The question of the revision of the Hawaiian Bible was then taken up; several stating how little they had done.

Mr. Rowell made a statement of his labors for the past five

years in the revision of the New Testament. He informed the body, that a specimen of his revision was being printed.

On motion of Mr. Corwin, O. H. Gulick was elected a trustee of Hilo Boarding School.

Adjourned to meet on Thursday, at 9 A. M. The exercises were closed with prayer by Mr. Rowell.

THURSDAY, JUNE 18.

On assembling at the usual hour, the Association engaged in the customary exercises of prayer and devotion. Business was opened at 9½ A. M., by reading the report of the station of Haula Koolau by the Rev. Mr. Kuaea.

Minutes of Monday's proceedings were read and amended.

Mr. Alexander, from the committee on topic No. 8, read a report, embracing a remodeled Constitution of the Association. The report having been accepted, the Constitution was re-read, article by article.

This subject being suspended for a few minutes, it was voted, on motion of Mr. Corwin, That we so arrange our business for to-morrow, as to accommodate Dr. Anderson, who has an engagement at the palace for a part of the day.

The noon intermission being over, the report on topic No. 8 was read, amended, and adopted, article by article; except the 2d and 7th, which were recommitted for further amendment.

Mr. S. E. Bishop, from the committee on topic No. 3, reported, and the report was accepted and adopted.

Mr. Damon, from the committee on topic No. 4, reported. The report was discussed, and recommitted. Closed with prayer.

FRIDAY, JUNE 19.

The Minutes were read, after the usual season of prayer.

Mr. Alexander reported Articles 2d and 7th of the proposed Constitution, which had been recommitted for amendment.

Article 2d, on motion of Mr. Coan, was amended. Article 7th was adopted.

The whole report was then re-read and amended. The name 'Central Board' was changed to 'The Board of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association.' The report was then adopted as a whole. The Revised Constitution of the Association is appended to the Minutes.

On motion of Mr. Coan, a committee of nomination for the Treasurer and Corresponding Secretary of the Board, to consist of one member from each island, was chosen by ballot. Messrs. J. W. Smith, Pogue, Bond, and Judd were elected on this committee.

Mr. L. Smith, from the committee on topic No. 4, which reported yesterday through Mr. Damon, presented an amendment of the report.

A further amendment being proposed, the report, on motion of Mr. Clark, was again recommitted.

Mr. Coan, from the committee on topic No. 5, reported. The report was accepted, and afterwards recommitted for amendment in the phraseology. After recess, Mr. Coan submitted the report in an amended form, when it was adopted.

Mr. Clark, from the committee on topic No. 7, reported, and the report was accepted and adopted.

Mr. Damon read his report in an amended form, and it was adopted.

Mr. Bond, from the committee on topic No. 9, reported, and the report was adopted.

Mr. Paris presented a report from G. W. Pilipo, native preacher to the Kailua church, which was read by the Scribe; and on motion of Mr. L. Smith, Mr. Paris was requested to translate the report.

Voted, That we consider the pastorate of the Kailua church as vacated, and that we recommend to the Association of Hawaii, to take measures to induce that church to call a native pastor.

Messrs. Paris and Corwin reported from the committee on topic No. 6.

The meeting was closed with prayer.

SATURDAY, JUNE 20.

The half hour of prayer was observed as usual.

Mr. Alexander read a touching and cheering letter from Mr. Lyons, giving joyful evidence that his health was in some measure restored.

Business was opened by the reading of the Minutes.

The Scribe read a petition from the lunas of the Kailua church, praying that Mr. Thurston may be continued as their pastor, and that they be permitted to contribute to his support while he lives. On motion it was voted, That the petition be referred to the consideration of the Association of the Island of Hawaii.

The report on topic No. 6 having been again read by Messrs. Paris and Corwin, was discussed, amended, and adopted.

The subject of the formation of the Hawaiian Board was discussed, and on motion of Mr. Pogue, it was voted, That one-third of the Board shall be Hawaiians, to be elected without regard to locality.

On motion of Mr. Clark, a committee of four was appointed by the chair, to nominate the Hawaiian members of this Board. Messrs. Coan, Pogue, Clark, and Rowell, were appointed.

On motion of Mr. Coan, it was voted, That the remaining twelve members of this Board be divided as follows;—six for Oahu, three for Hawaii, two for Maui and Molokai, and one for Kauai.

The Association then proceeded to ballot for the twelve members, and their names will be found in the account of the organization of the Board, which follows the Minutes.

On motion of Mr. Forbes, it was voted, That Messrs. Corwin, Clark, and Castle be a committee to frame By-Laws for the Board of the Hawaiian Association.

On motion of Mr. Corwin, it was voted, That, for purposes of organization of the Board, Mr. Coan be considered chairman of that Board.

On motion of Mr. Clark, adjourned to meet at 10 A. M., Monday. Closed with prayer.

MONDAY, JUNE 22.

The meeting was opened with prayer, at 10 A. M., by Mr. Bond. Mr. Castle stated that Mr. Davis, lately arrived from England, had written him, that Lady Franklin desired him to present her best regards to the members of this mission, with an expression of her gratitude for the kindness received from them, and of her appreciation of the great work they had done, and are doing on these Islands.

The Minutes were read and amended.

Dr. Smith, from the majority of the committee for the nomination of the Secretary and Treasurer of the Hawaiian Board, reported a nomination of Mr. E. O. Hall for the office of Treasurer, and Mr. E. Bond for that of Secretary. The report was accepted.

Mr. Bond declined, decidedly, to serve as Secretary of the Board.

On motion of Mr. Coan, the name of Dr. L. H. Gulick was substituted for that of Mr. Bond in the report of the committee.

Voted, That Article 6 of the Constitution be amended to read, that the Board shall consist of "not less than eighteen members."

Voted, That Messrs. Bond and Pogue have leave of absence for the remainder of the session.

The Association then balloted for three more members of the Board, whose names are included in the list already mentioned.

Dr. Smith stated at the opening of the afternoon session, that Mr. Bond, a member of the committee on the General Letter,

having left, it would be necessary for one to be appointed in his place. Mr. S. E. Bishop was appointed.

The Association proceeded, in accordance with the Constitution just adopted, to elect the Corresponding Secretary and Treasurer of the Hawaiian Board. The ballot resulted in the choice of Dr. Luther H. Gulick for Secretary, and Mr. E. O. Hall for Treasurer.

Mr. Coan, from the committee to nominate the native members of the Board, reported, and the persons named in the list to be found in the organization of the Board were elected.

The twenty members of the Board were then divided by lot, into three classes, as stated in the account of the organization of the Board.

Dr. Anderson brought to the attention of the body the matter of Mr. Rowell's revision of the New Testament, and presented Mr. Rowell's proposal in regard to the same as follows :

“Mr. Rowell proposes, that the revised translation of the New Testament be submitted to the examination of a committee composed of a number of this body, who may be selected for their critical knowledge of the Hawaiian tongue, and a number of native Hawaiians, who shall be selected for their intelligence and critical acumen, and that he be allowed free conference with that committee ; and he pledges himself to abide by their decision.”

On motion of Mr. Coan, it was voted, That the Moderator appoint a committee, who shall examine Mr. Rowell's revision, and report their opinion upon the measure proposed by Mr. Rowell. The committee appointed were Messrs. Coan, Clark, and B. W. Parker.

The Association then listened to an Essay from Judge Andrews, on the Value of the English Language in the Instruction of Hawaiians.

The reading of Essays was made the order for to-morrow.

Mr. Coan gave notice that the Hawaiian Board would meet at 1 o'clock, to-morrow. Closed with prayer.

TUESDAY, JUNE 23.

The half hour of prayer was observed as usual, and the Minutes were read and amended.

Mr. Lyman read an Essay, on the Pecuniary and Moral Effect of the falling off of the whaling fleet at these Islands.

Mr. Coan read an Essay upon a topic assigned him last year ; viz. : 'The Proper Subjects of Baptism.' The subject of this essay was discussed till noon, at which hour the Association adjourned, to meet to-morrow at 9 A. M. Closed with prayer.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 24.

After the usual season of prayer, and the reading of the Minutes, the discussion on the subject of baptism was resumed. Mr. Rowell, on being requested, made a statement of his views ; and the discussion was continued till 11½ A. M. On motion of Mr. Corwin, the farther consideration of it was indefinitely postponed.

Mr. Corwin reported a code of By-Laws for the Board of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association, which was read in full, re-read, and adopted, article by article. See p. 27.

The exercises were closed with prayer by Mr. Clark.

THURSDAY, JUNE 25.

After the usual exercises, Dr. Anderson called the attention of the brethren to the importance of making an early statement to the committee of the Hawaiian Board, of the amount of aid required for the children attending Punahou, and the reasons for the same.

The body then proceeded to ballot for a Corresponding Secretary, *pro tem.*, for the Board of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association, Dr. Gulick being absent in the United States, and the ballot resulted in the election of Rev. E. W. Clark.

Mr. Clark, from the committee on topic No. 7, read an

addition to their report. This was accepted, amended, and then adopted.

The subject of the support of the younger pastors was then taken up, and discussed till noon, at which hour the Association took a recess.

On motion of Mr. Clark, in the afternoon session, the following resolution was adopted :

Resolved, as the sense of this body, That the support of the younger pastors, so far as they shall need aid beyond what the people, assigned to their parochial care, can give, be furnished through the Hawaiian Board, on the principle of Home Missions.

The reading of assignments was taken up. The Rev. A. Bishop read an Essay upon the topic of 'A good time coming,' namely, the Millennium.

On motion of Mr. L. Smith, it was voted,

1. That it will suit the convenience of the Association, if the examination of H. H. Parker, the candidate for ordination, take place at 11 A. M., on Saturday ; and

2. If his ordination be at 3 o'clock on Sabbath afternoon.

Adjourned, to meet to-morrow at 9 A. M. Prayer by Dr. Baldwin.

FRIDAY, JUNE 26.

The half hour from 9 was spent in devotional services.

Minutes were read and amended.

Mr. Coan, from the committee appointed to consider Mr. Rowell's proposal in regard to his revision of the New Testament, reported as follows ; viz. :

The committee, to whom was referred the proposition of Mr. Rowell on his Revision of the New Testament, respectfully report :

I. That they fully appreciate the diligence, patience, and conscientious fidelity of Mr. Rowell, in preparing the revision.

II. After a somewhat careful examination of the revised specimen put into their hands, and after free consultation with many of their brethren, and of intelligent natives, the committee do not feel prepared to recommend the printing of the revised edition by Mr. Rowell, or the appointment of a committee to revise said copy.

1. Because the specimen examined, is substantially a *new translation*, and not a *correction*, and is not therefore in accordance with the views and directions of this Association, as expressed in its deliberations and recorded resolutions.

2. Because it is believed by many, that the revision, so far as your committee have had opportunity to examine it, does not express the meaning of the text so clearly, on the whole, as the old version.

3. As the style and import of the old version are associated in the minds of most of the Hawaiian readers, your committee think it undesirable to disturb that association, except when it is obviously necessary for the correction of errors, in order to elucidate the mind of the Holy Spirit.

The following, on motion of Mr. Clark, was added to the report; viz.: "That Mr. Rowell be requested to transfer his revision of the New Testament to the committee on the revision of the Bible."

As thus amended, the report was adopted.

On motion of Mr. Hall, as amended, it was voted, That a committee be appointed to prepare, in the Hawaiian language, a suitable abstract of the proceedings, to be printed in a pamphlet form. On motion of Mr. Mills, it was voted, That the chairman of this committee be Mr. Alexander, and the other members Messrs. Clark and L. Smith.

Mr. Dole read an Essay on the subject assigned him in 1861, viz.: "The Appropriate Duties of Christian Females in public and social worship."

Mr. Rowell requested that his name might be dropped from the committee on the revision of the Hawaiian Bible. On

motion of Dr. Smith, it was voted, That Mr. Rowell be excused from further service on the committee for the Revision of the Hawaiian Bible.

At 12 M. adjourned, to meet to-morrow, at 9 A. M. Closed with prayer by Dr. Anderson.

SATURDAY, JUNE 27.

The half hour of prayer and devotional exercises, was spent in supplication and exhortation. The Minutes were then read.

The question of grants for the expenses of attending the Annual Meetings of the Association was discussed. On motion of Mr. Johnson, it was voted, That this Association apply to the American Board for aid to defray the expense of attending the Annual Meeting of this body, the sum not to exceed \$400.

On motion of Mr. Clark, adjourned, to meet on Tuesday morning, at 9 A. M. Closed with prayer.

TUESDAY, JUNE 30.

Met according to adjournment. The half hour of prayer was observed as usual. The Minutes were read. On motion of Mr. B. W. Parker, it was voted, That the portion of the By-Laws requiring the Treasurer to give bonds for the faithful performance of his duties, be stricken out.

On motion of Mr. Parker, it was voted, That 500 copies of the proceedings of this Association be printed in Hawaiian. Also, That 50 copies of the Constitution and By-Laws of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association be printed at once, in the Hawaiian language.

Messrs. Paris, S. E. Bishop, and Dr. Smith, from the committee on the General Letter, each read the portion of the letter prepared by himself. After the several parts had been amended and corrected, the letter, as a whole, was adopted.

Voted, That the hour from 11 to 12, to-morrow, be devoted by the Association to religious exercises.

On motion of Mr. Paris, it was voted, That Mr. Coan be requested to express, at the parting meeting to-morrow, the feelings, esteem, and *aloha* of the body towards Dr. Anderson and family.

Mr. Rowell, from the committee on assignments, reported the following assignments for 1864.

1. The Wars of Hana, their Number, Names, and History.—*S. E. Bishop.*

2. History of Kamehameha I.—*L. Andrews.*

3. Church Order, (in English.)—*G. B. Rowell.*

4. Divinity of Christ.—*T. Coan.*

5. Exegesis, Heb. 10 : 22. "And our bodies washed with pure water."—*D. B. Lyman.*

6. Hawaii in 1820, and Hawaii in 1864 ; separate essays, (continued.)—*E. Bond, and L. Lyons.*

7. Pastor's Manual, (continued.)—*W. P. Alexander.*

8. Hawaiian's Christian Guide.—*D. Baldwin.*

9. Sermon on Looking to Christ, (continued.)—*E. Corwin.*

10. Duties of Christians respecting Theatres and Circuses, (continued.)—*S. N. Castle.*

11. How to promote Systematic Benevolence among Hawaiian Christians.—*L. Smith.*

12. How to arouse Hawaiian Christians to Increased Industry, (continued.)—*E. Johnson.*

13. Large Plantations, their Moral Influence.—*A. Wilcox.*

14. How we may best employ Laymen as Assistants, in Missionary Labor.—*B. W. Parker.*

15. What is the Needful Education for the Hawaiian Pastor.—*H. H. Parker.*

16. Exegesis, Eph. 5 : 26.—*A. Bishop.*

17. The Last Forty Years in the Pacific, (continued.)—*S. C. Damon.*

18. Is Baptism pre-requisite to Communion in the Lord's Supper, (in English.)—*J. D. Paris.*

19. How to Promote Industry among Hawaiian Females.—*O. H. Gulick.*
20. The work of Christianizing the Islands of the Pacific.—*L. H. Gulick.*
21. Best Mode of Teaching Hawaiians.—*Prof. Alexander.*
22. Educational Advantages of the Islands, as compared with the United States. — *C. T. Mills.*
23. Exegesis, 1 Peter, 3 : 21.—*D. Dole.*
24. Means of Preserving the Life and Health of Hawaiian Children.—*Dr. Smith.*
25. Relation of Baptized Children* to the Church.—*A. O. Forbes.*
26. The Best Means of Preserving Hawaiian Young Men from Immorality.—*J. F. Pogue.*
27. What are the Causes of the Diminution of the Hawaiian Islanders.—*Dr. C. H. Wetmore.*

WEDNESDAY, JULY 1.

Met at half past 10 A. M. The exercises were opened with prayer by Mr. Johnson. The Minutes were read.

The report of the Honuaula out-station on Maui, by S. W. Nueku, was read by the scribe.

On motion of Dr. Judd, it was voted, That those who can, be expected to report to this body in Hawaiian, and that those who cannot, report in English.

On motion of Mr. A. Bishop, it was voted, That when we adjourn, we adjourn to meet the first Wednesday in June, 1864.

The hour from 11 to 12 was spent in devotional exercises. As a parting meeting, Mr. Coan delivered the parting address to Dr. Anderson and family, expressive of the sentiments of regard, respect, esteem, and *aloha* of this body toward them. Dr. Anderson replied in a strain of eloquence and touching pathos, closing with words of exhortation and counsel.

At 12 M., adjourned to the first Wednesday of June, 1864.

The benediction was pronounced by Dr. Anderson.

REVISED CONSTITUTION OF THE HAWAIIAN EVANGELICAL ASSOCIATION.

ARTICLE I. This body shall be called THE HAWAIIAN EVANGELICAL ASSOCIATION.

In addition to those who shall become members under the Constitution as revised in the year 1854, it shall consist of all the ordained clergymen, both native and foreign, of the Congregational and Presbyterian orders on the various Islands of Hawaii, and of Micronesia and the Marquesas Islands; together with such laymen as may be elected from time to time by a two-thirds vote; together, also, with lay delegates appointed annually by the local ecclesiastical bodies, as follows, viz:—*five* from Hawaii; *three* from Maui and Molokai; *four* from Oahu, and *three* from Kauai and Niihau.

ARTICLE II. The Officers of this Association shall be a Moderator and Scribe, chosen by ballot at its annual meetings, and they shall continue in office until removed by the election of others.

ARTICLE III. The duties of the Moderator shall be such as ordinarily devolve on the Moderator or President of deliberative bodies.

It shall be the duty of the Scribe to record and preserve faithful minutes of all the proceedings of the Association, both in the Hawaiian and English languages; and to preserve all the records, papers, documents, &c., that may be intrusted to his care.

ARTICLE IV. The object of this Association is mutual counsel and assistance in the great work of propagating the gospel; and to enter into common measures for promoting knowledge and religion, and for preventing infidelity, error and immorality.

ARTICLE V. This Association shall meet annually, at such time and place as it shall appoint.

ARTICLE VI. This Association will entertain references from the local ecclesiastical bodies; and labor to promote the purity and unity of the churches.

ARTICLE VII. This Association shall appoint an Executive Board, to be denominated, The Board of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association, which shall consist of a Corresponding Secretary and Treasurer, to be chosen annually by the Association, together with not less than eighteen members, one-third of whom shall go out of office annually, eligible to re-election. They shall be divided into three classes, not less than six in each class, to be numbered first, second and third class; those of the first class to go out of office at the end of one year; those of the second class at the end of two years; and those of the third class at the end of three years.

It shall be the duty of the Board to perform any agency requested of it by the Prudential Committee, in respect to former Missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions at these Islands, and the education of their children at the Islands; and to take charge of Home Missions on these Hawaiian Islands; the education of a Native Ministry, and of Females who may become teachers and pastors' wives; the preparation, publication and circulation of useful books and tracts; and also of Foreign Missions, so far as the conduct of them from these Islands shall be found practicable and expedient; and shall take the charge of and the disbursal of funds contributed for these objects, from whatever source.

The Board will be expected to make a full report of its proceedings in all these departments, except the first named, to the Evangelical Association at its annual meeting.

ARTICLE VIII. The Board shall organize during the annual meeting of this Association. It may, at its discretion, employ the aid of others, not members of the Board, on any of its committees.

ARTICLE IX. This Constitution may be amended only at an annual meeting of the Association, by a vote of three-fourths of the members present.

ARTICLE X. All meetings and sessions of this Association shall be opened and closed with prayer.

MEMBERS AND OFFICERS OF THE BOARD.

ACCORDING to the preceding Constitution, the Association elected by ballot Rev. L. H. Gulick, M. D., Corresponding Secretary of the Board, and E. O. Hall, Esq., Treasurer.

Rev. E. W. Clark was elected Corresponding Secretary *pro tem.*, to fill the vacancy until the return of Dr. Gulick to the Islands.

It was resolved, that one-third of the eighteen members of the Board shall be Hawaiians—two for Hawaii, one for Maui, two for Oahu, and one for Kauai; and that the remaining twelve members of the Board, to whom two more were added, be divided as follows:—eight for Oahu, three for Hawaii, two for Maui and Molokai, and one for Kauai.

The following persons were elected members of the Board by ballot, in addition to the Corresponding Secretary and Treasurer, members of the Board *ex officio*s, viz.:

For Hawaii.

Rev. J. D. Paris,
Rev. T. Coan,

Rev. E. Bond,
S. Kipi,

G. W. Pilipo.

For Maui and Molokai.

Rev. W. P. Alexander,
L. Aholo.

Rev. J. F. Pogue,

For Oahu.

Rev. E. W. Clark,
Dr. G. P. Judd,
Rev. E. Corwin,
Rev. B. W. Parker,
S. N. Castle, Esq.

Rev. L. Smith,
Rev. S. C. Damon,
Rev. C. T. Mills,
Hon. Ioane Ii,
S. Kumuhonua.

For Kauai.

Rev. J. W. Smith,

G. W. Lilikalani.

The members of the Board were divided by lot into three classes, as follows :

First Class, to serve One Year.

J. W. Smith,

L. Aholo,

G. W. Lilikalani,

S. N. Castle,

C. T. Mills,

E. W. Clark,

L. Smith.

Second Class, to serve Two Years.

J. D. Paris,

S. Kipi,

Ioane Ii,

S. Kumuhonua,

J. F. Pogue,

B. W. Parker,

E. Corwin.

Third Class, to serve Three Years.

T. Coan,

E. Bond,

W. P. Alexander,

G. W. Pilipo,

S. C. Damon,

G. P. Judd.

JUNE 23.—The Board of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association met at the Mission School House. Mr. Coan was called to the Chair.

The Board proceeded to organize by choosing Officers for the ensuing year.

The following are the Officers for the coming year, including the Corresponding Secretary and Treasurer chosen by the Association, viz. :

Rev. Titus Coan, President.

Rev. E. W. Clark, Rec. Sec.

Dr. G. P. Judd, V. President.

E. O. Hall, Esq., Treasurer.

Rev. L. H. Gulick, Cor. Sec.

I. Bartlett, Esq., Auditor.

BY-LAWS OF THE BOARD.

I. This Board, constituted and elected by the Hawaiian Evangelical Association, and responsible to it, shall be known as The Board of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association.

II. In addition to the Corresponding Secretary and Treasurer, elected by the Hawaiian Evangelical Association, the Officers of the Board shall be a President, Vice President, Recording Secretary and Auditor, elected annually by ballot, at the first meeting of the Board subsequent to the time when the Evangelical Association shall have elected the new members of the Board to fill the place of the retiring class.

III. It shall be the duty of the President, or in his absence, of the Vice President, to preside at each meeting of the Board. In the absence of both the President and Vice President, the meeting shall be called to order by the Recording Secretary, after which a presiding officer shall be chosen for the occasion.

IV. The Corresponding Secretary shall conduct the correspondence, retaining a copy of all important letters; and shall write the Annual Report of the Board in duplicate,—one copy for the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, in English; and the other for the Hawaiian Evangelical Association, in Hawaiian,—said Report to be first submitted to the Board for amendment and adoption at its annual meeting. He shall also sustain an official relation to the various permanent Committees, and, under the direction of the Board, shall visit the several Islands of this group in prosecuting the various objects of the Board.

V. The Recording Secretary shall keep an accurate record of the proceedings of the Board. He shall certify the correctness of all accounts and demands against the Treasury; and in no case shall he give such certificates without a vote of the

Board, authorizing the expenditure. He shall also give due notice of all special meetings to the members residing in Honolulu, and, except in extreme cases, to all the members residing on Oahu.

VI. The Treasurer shall take charge of all moneys paid into the Treasury, and give receipts for the same; shall have the custody of all funds, and notes, and other evidences of property belonging to the Board; shall keep an accurate account of all moneys received, the source from which derived, and, if specified, the objects for which they were given; also, an account of all moneys paid out, stating to whom, and for what purpose. Nor shall any payment be made, except upon the certificate of the Secretary, in accordance with a recorded vote of the Board. He shall prepare and present an annual statement of the receipts, and payments, and of the condition of all the financial interests of the Board; and he shall exhibit his books, accounts, vouchers, and evidences of property, whenever required.

VII. The Auditor shall carefully examine the books of the Treasurer at least once a year; and if he shall find the accounts correctly kept, the payments well vouched, and the evidences of property duly exhibited, he shall give his certificate accordingly, which he shall enter upon the books and reports of the Treasurer.

VIII. The Board shall hold an annual meeting of two sessions during the annual meeting of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association; one, to close up the labors of the year, hear and adopt the reports, and transact such other business as may be important to be done, previous to the time when the Evangelical Association shall hold an election to fill the place of the outgoing class; the other session to be held after said election, at which time the Board shall reorganize, and discuss and arrange the general plans for the coming year.

Ordinarily, the following order of exercises shall be observed at this meeting:

The reading and approving of minutes.

The election by ballot of President, Vice President, Recording Secretary and Auditor.

The appointment of preachers for the coming year on Foreign Missions, both in English and Hawaiian; also a preacher on Home Evangelization, both in English and Hawaiian.

The choosing of permanent Committees for the year :

1. On Foreign Missions.
2. On Home Missions.
3. On Publications.
4. On Education of native Ministers, and of native Females.
5. On Appropriations from the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

Miscellaneous Business.

IX. Each Committee shall, in conjunction with the Corresponding Secretary, prepare all business in its department, and report to the Board. But in no case shall a Committee put in execution any plans until they have first been proposed to, and approved by the Board, and by them recommitted to the said Committee, with power to act.

Any subject, not initiated by the appropriate Committee, may at any time be proposed, discussed, and acted upon, in a meeting of the Board.

X. Regular meetings of the Board shall be held on the first Tuesday evening of each month; the presiding officer to take the chair, and call the meeting to order, promptly at 7 o'clock; and if but five members are present, they may proceed with the business. All members of the Board present in Honolulu at the time of the holding of any regular, or special meeting, shall be expected to attend.

XI. The Recording Secretary, at the request of any three members, may, at any convenient time, call a special meeting, stating the object of the meeting. But no such meeting shall be valid without the giving of due notice by the Recording Secretary, and without the attendance of at least five members.

XII. If at any time during the year a vacancy shall occur in

the officers or working quorum of the Board, the Board may fill said vacancy by ballot at any regular meeting.

XIII. All meetings of the Board shall be opened with prayer, and closed with prayer, or singing.

XIV. These By-Laws may be altered or amended by a vote of two-thirds of the members of the Board present at any regular meeting; notice of the proposed alteration having been previously given at a regular meeting; which changes shall be subject to revision and approval by the Hawaiian Evangelical Association.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BOARD.

PREACHERS FOR NEXT YEAR.

On Foreign Missions.

Rev. A. O. Forbes, English Sermon.

Rev. H. H. Parker, Hawaiian Sermon.

On Home Evangelization.

Rev. L. H. Gulick, English Sermon.

Rev. M. Kuaea, Hawaiian Sermon.

STANDING COMMITTEES.

On Foreign Missions.

Rev. E. W. Clark,

Rev. L. Smith,

Rev. S. C. Damon,

Rev. M. Kuaea.

On Home Missions.

Rev. L. Smith,

Dr. G. P. Judd,

Rev. B. W. Parker,

Hon. Ioane Ii.

On Publications.

Rev. E. Corwin,

E. O. Hall, Esq.,

Rev. E. W. Clark,

Rev. H. H. Parker.

On Education.

Rev. B. W. Parker, Rev. E. W. Clark,
 Rev. L. Smith.

On Appropriations from the American Board.

Rev. E. W. Clark, Rev. C. T. Mills,
 S. N. Castle, Esq.

The following local Committees on Education were appointed.

Hawaii.

Rev. J. D. Paris, Rev. O. H. Gulick,
 Rev. T. Coan, Dr. C. H. Wetmore.

Mau.

Rev. W. P. Alexander, Rev. A. O. Forbes,
 Rev. J. F. Pogue, L. Aholo.

Kauai.

Rev. J. W. Smith, Rev. E. Johnson.

REPORTS AND RESOLUTIONS.

The following Resolution, presented by Mr. Corwin, was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That, provided the Hawaiian Missionary Society shall be dissolved, all the Life Members of that body, who may desire it, shall be entitled to all the rights and privileges of Honorary Life Members of this Board.

It was resolved, That a Female Boarding School be established at Kau, under the care of Mr. and Mrs. O. H. Gulick, as soon as suitable pupils can be found; and that a Theological Class be commenced at Wailuku, under the charge of Rev. W. P. Alexander.

On recommendation of the Committee on Education, the following Resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That when Mr. Gulick finds it necessary to employ

a teacher for the school, this Board approve of his employing one, the sum paid to such teacher not to exceed \$350 per annum.

The Committee on Publications reported, recommending the following works in Hawaiian to be prepared and printed, which report was adopted; viz.

Re-Prints.

Evidences of Christianity—to be revised by W. P. Alexander.
Hymn Book—to be revised by L. Lyons.

Fisk's Bible Class Book in Hawaiian—to be revised by L. Smith.

Natural Theology—to be revised by J. F. Pogue.

Moral Philosophy—to be revised by E. W. Clark.

Ninauhoike—to be revised by B. W. Parker.

New Works.

Pastoral Manual, by W. P. Alexander.

Child's Catechism, by T. Coan.

Almanac for 1864, by J. F. Pogue.

Compend of Secular History, by S. E. Bishop.

Religious Monthly Paper, by L. H. Gulick and H. H. Parker.

As the American Bible Society has made a recent grant to aid in circulating the Scriptures in the Islands, it was resolved that the price of the Octavo Bible be reduced to fifty cents a copy, and that special efforts be made to get the entire Bible into the hands of the people.

The Committee on Home Missions reported on the salaries of the younger pastors of foreign origin. Report adopted.

Committee on Appropriations from the American Board for these Islands, reported. Report adopted.

Committee on Foreign Missions reported estimates for Micronesia for 1864. Report adopted.

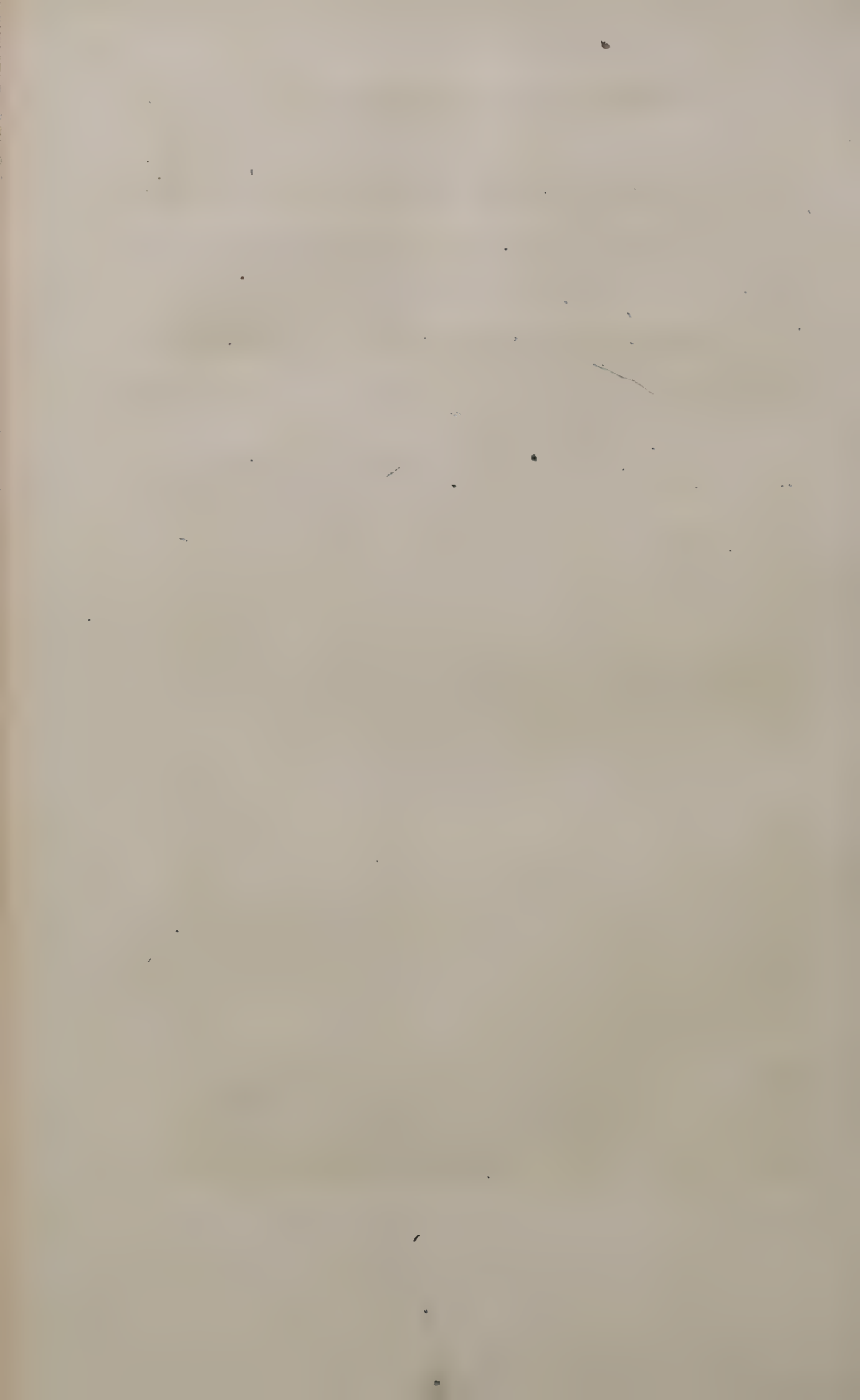
The Treasurer was authorized to send a vessel to the Marquesas with supplies for the Mission, so soon as one can be procured on suitable terms.

It was afterwards decided to wait a season for the return of the *Morning Star* from Micronesia, and employ her in this service.

The subject of withdrawing the Mission to the Marquesas Islands, was discussed, and decided in the negative.

Rev. B. W. Parker was appointed to go as delegate to that Mission.

Voted, To print two hundred copies of the Constitution, By-Laws, and Proceedings of this Board, for circulation.



DR. ANDERSON'S INTRODUCTORY ADDRESS.

DEAR BRETHREN :

It was stated in the printed document already placed in your hands, that after my visit to the Islands had been decided upon, there were consultations in the Prudential Committee, the results of which I was to communicate verbally to the Association. But I would first make a brief reference to my recent tour, with my wife and daughter, through the Islands.

I have had, as you know, some experience of touring among missions ; having once visited all our missions in India, and thrice our missions within and around the Mediterranean. Those visits were among the most agreeable religious and social experiences of my life ; but I must say, that my late tour surpasses all the others, in the view it gives me of what God has wrought among the heathen, through the Gospel of his Son. It is at any rate a fact that, after having read the reports and letters from these Islands for the space of forty years, my expectations have been exceeded. There has been no exaggeration, on the whole, in the result of these reports and letters upon one of their most constant and attentive readers.

This may have been owing, in part, to the chastening effect of former observations in other missions. In passing through the Islands, I have thought it possible that my brethren who reside here are so familiar with the scenes around them, and withal have had so much experience of the unsanctified side of the native character, as to be scarcely able to appreciate the prodigious rise there has been in the native condition and character above the level of forty years ago. I am sure that, considering the time, there is nothing like it in the missions of this age or of any other. There is doubtless much under the surface to offset what we see, but it is so with the wonderful island we first traveled. I presume there is nowhere more evidence of raging fires beneath the surface, no where such burning eruptions, such tracts of barren lava. And yet, through the genial influence of sun and rain, there are fertile soils, and trees, and flowers, and grasses, and whatever tropical fruits men wish to cultivate. And so with this island-community. Whatever of volcanic fires there be beneath the surface of society, of burning eruptions and barren wastes, there are fertile surfaces, and trees and fruits of righteousness, visible even to the casual observer, a creation of grace, as the other is of nature, to the glory of God through Jesus Christ. As to the *national sin*, it may be said—as doubtless it might of the ancient church at Corinth—that it was so universal among the people in their heathen condition, and the manners, habits, language were so corrupted by it, that there has not yet been time to form a strong public sentiment, and create a sensitive conscience in respect to it, even in the church. We see something painfully analagous to this, in relation

to vices in the civilization of a commercial people, such as avarice, hoarding, hard bargains—vices at present quite beyond the reach of church discipline.

I take great pleasure in expressing our lively gratitude to all our brethren and sisters, for their unwearied kindness in our journey. Nothing was left undone that could promote our happiness, or the object of our visit. At every place, in every family, the feelings left in our minds towards our missionary fellow-laborers, are what we shall love to cherish, and such as we shall hope to carry with us to enhance the joy of our reunion in the heavenly world.

The brethren have everywhere freely let me into their temporal affairs; and I have been glad to find so many of them in circumstances favorable to comfort, and to the settlement of their children on these Islands. You are aware that, in common with our Committee, I have long deemed your continued residence here, with your children, an object of much importance. To this end, the Prudential Committee transferred to you the property held by the Board on the Islands, and co-operated with the Government in securing for you a right in fee-simple to the lands. To this end, the same liberty was awarded you in the investment and acquisition of property, which popular sentiment gives to pastors in our own country. To this end, also, the Government of these Islands, some years since, gave you the privilege of purchasing land at a low rate. The result is, that you are now, as a class, believed to be in possession of more property than your brother ministers, as a body, in any one section of our own country; while, on the contrary, no one of you has been

enriched, or has the prospect of becoming so. And I am free to declare, that your several missionary fields afford evidence of a laborious life, and of much self-denying labor; while I am fully persuaded that, as a body, you have gained in spirituality since the year 1848, when the change was made in your relations to property and to the Islands. While I hope that the fathers will not be anxious to increase their possessions, I shall not be backward to state my belief, on my return home, that, in a comprehensive and enlightened view of the subject, there is no more ground for regret or apprehension here, on the score of worldly possessions, than exists among the clergy in any one district at home; and that most of you will need more or less aid towards your support, during the remainder of your lives.

I have addressed nearly twenty congregations, and not far from twelve thousand people. In several congregations I occupied both parts of the Sabbath. Though speaking of course through an interpreter, I have seldom had occasion to feel any lack of attention. The church buildings erected and sustained on the Islands, and chiefly by the people, exceed one hundred, and their estimated cost is considerably more than \$150,000. To a great extent they have bells.

A man cannot travel over these Islands as I have done, with his eyes open for every good, and not be impressed with the paramount value of the Lahainaluna Seminary,—an institution admirably conducted. As it is in our own country, so here, the graduates of course resort to the districts where their labors are most valued; but I have found more or less of them almost everywhere, and of

course have seen the best of them ; and these are so many, and stand so above their communities in character and usefulness, that I do not wonder the Government has given that institution so generous a support. Ten graduates from this institution have received ordination, and it will deserve the thankful consideration of this meeting in its future discussions, that nine of them have thus far lived without reproach. The boarding schools at Hilo and Kohala have furnished most of the teachers on Hawaii, and have rendered valuable service on that island ; and so has Mr. Wilcox's school on Kauai. And I heard of so many good native women from the female boarding school at Wailuku, that I could not help regretting it was ever suspended, and wished that its buildings were in a state—as they are not—to admit of its being revived.

The recent mission of the “Reformed Catholic Church,”—so called by its own members,—to these Islands, was not even mentioned in the discussions which led to my being sent hither, and formed no part of the reasons that influenced the Prudential Committee.

In entering upon the business of the meeting, it should constantly be borne in mind, that it is a new, as well as great, problem in the foreign missions, which we are providentially called upon to solve ; and should we succeed in giving it a right solution, we do so, not only for ourselves on these Islands, but ultimately for all missions. Not that there will be frequent opportunities, nor may there soon be another opportunity, as now and here, to apply it to a *nation*, but the principle will be easily applicable to particular districts in unevangelized countries. The question

is, *How Missionary Societies and Missions should proceed in building up and establishing the Christian Institutions, after they have been introduced and have obtained a certain degree of ascendancy.* This question was urged upon the Board, fifteen or sixteen years ago, by the remarkable progress of the work of God on these Islands. We now propose a practical solution, so far as these Islands are concerned, by the Board's retiring from the front, and taking a position in the rear—acting as an auxiliary, rather than a leader. We shall throw the main responsibility upon the new Christian community; only aiding it by grants in the several departments of the work. And by the "new Christian community," we mean the body of Christians made up of all the evangelical ministers and churches on the Islands, both native and foreign.

Allow me to say, before going farther, that we need to enter upon the discussions before us with the largest views, most disinterested feelings, and strongest faith and courage, we can possibly command; since there will be but little in our past experience to guide us, or in the recorded experience of the Christian Church.

Those who have perused the printed document, already mentioned, will not need to be informed why I was sent to these Islands. That which finally decided the point of duty in my own mind, was my conviction, in common with the Prudential Committee, that the Islands had been so far Christianized as to require, for the more rapid and healthful prosecution of the work, that more responsibility for the building up of the kingdom of Christ here, ought to devolve on the island community itself. As a change in the base of our operations must needs involve the

creating of new relations, I coincided with the Committee in believing, that it would require more frequent and familiar interchanges of thought, than was possible in mere correspondence ; that the shortest, cheapest, easiest way would be, to go and confer with the brethren familiarly, at their homes and in this annual meeting.

It is, then, the belief of the Prudential Committee, that the time has come for a change in the relations of the Board to this island-community. And it is also their conviction, that the time has come for a corresponding change in your relations as missionaries to the same community ;—substituting the *ecclesiastical* for the *missionary* ; and bringing yourselves, the native ministry, and the people, all into one community. The community, thus organized, will of course need to make proper arrangements for doing the work ; and the Board, acting for the churches at home, will then hasten to recognize the Hawaiian Christian community as fully competent to do the work within itself,—with the aid of such grants from the Board, from time to time, as there shall appear to be good reason for making. It may for a time—we know not how long—increase, rather than diminish, the outlay of the Board at these Islands. When we speak of *closing the mission*, we speak of a *process*, not of an *end*. None of us may live to see the end of it. It cost our churches more than a million of dollars to evangelize this nation, and those churches will have no idea of seeing these evangelical institutions subverted, whatever be the cost of preventing such a disaster. But the course of measures we entered upon in 1848, and now propose extending somewhat further, we regard as the only one

fitted to render this nation self-governing and self-supporting in its religious life, or to put the mission itself beyond the charge of having been a failure. Some such process, too, as we propose, is needful to re-enlist the American churches vigorously in the effort necessary to finish the work they commenced in these Islands forty-three years ago.

The work to be done by this community will, of course, be substantially the same as it is in our own country ;— ministerial labor and church-formation in destitute places, namely, Home Missions, in their several departments of Sabbath schools, colportage, etc. ; also, the education of a Native Ministry, and of wives for the same, and perhaps of religious teachers ; also, the cultivation of the Literature of the country, religious and moral ; and Foreign Missions. The nature of the work, under these several heads, and the instrumentalities for the same, will naturally occupy some time at the present meeting. For want of a vigorous prosecution of the three departments of labor first named, the foreign missions sent from these Islands have failed of exerting all that healthful reaction upon the Hawaiian churches, which was the main object of the mission to Micronesia ; and the foreign missions have proved, in some respects, exhaustive to the religious strength of the community. They needed a vigorous system of home missions, to open channels for their reactionary influence to flow through these island-churches.

1. It will be seen that the printed Resolutions provide for grants in aid of Home Missions, when they are needed beyond what the old missionaries, and native pastors who are supported by their churches, can do. The brethren of

the second generation would come under this head. So probably, for a time, would native pastors in all the remoter churches, which are yet to be formed in the several districts of Hawaii; and in some of the churches on Maui, Molokai, Oahu, and Kauai. If the missionary fathers take their salaries hereafter from the Board, and not from the people, there will be four or five thousand dollars, which they will have no scruple in urging the people to contribute for home missions, for ministerial education, and for religious books.

2. There needs to be, on these Islands, a process of Education for Native Pastors and Missionaries, in some respects different from any heretofore existing,—having those ends avowedly in view, and so understood by the native churches and students; and also for educating native females, in a manner fitting them to become teachers and the wives of native ministers. The questions involved in this important and necessary department, will need to be carefully discussed at this meeting, with a view to immediate measures, and I will state the results of my inquiries when the discussion comes on. Probably no one plan for educating native pastors will meet the demands of all the Islands just now. I am inclined to believe that suitable females may be found for training as teachers and the wives of ministers, though with more difficulty than the males. I am obliged to say, that I do not yet know a place in all the Islands, where at present one of them could be placed for the needful training.

3. I doubt not that a careful attention will be given to the present Literature of the Islands, that we may see what needs to be done in the several departments of publi-

cation, and how to do it. Some have said, that the comparative inactivity in the book-making department, for sometime past, is owing to the want of funds. But I can recollect no urgent appeal to the Board for funds, from these Islands, during the last ten years. If good books are in the way of preparation, and the proper argument is used, I am quite sure the funds can be obtained.

4. What the amount is of foreign ministerial labor needed at these Islands, and how it shall be obtained, is a subject requiring earnest consideration. We suppose that the four large Islands, or at least that three of them, have each a centre, that will require the residence of a minister of foreign origin or descent, for years to come. How far this is a correct view, and whether there are more than three or four places requiring so long an occupation, will need our attention. Which are the great centres? Should Kona have more than one foreign minister? Should there ultimately be more than one in north-western Hawaii? Hilo and Puna should of course have one; and if the house owned by the Board in Kau be occupied for a female boarding school for the wives of native ministers, that district should have one; but ought there to be one in Kau in case the female boarding school be not located there? How many should there be for Maui and Molokai, for Oahu and Kauai? The missionary fathers are all, except four, now past the age of fifty; seven are past threescore, and one is seventy-five. A few more years, and their number will be greatly reduced. This not only shows the need of bringing about the proposed changes at once, if ever, so that we may have the forming, presiding influence of the fathers for the eight or ten years remaining to

them; but it raises the important question, whether there is need of the Board's sending out three or four able young men from our own country, to occupy the more important centres when death no longer suffers the fathers to occupy them.

This involves the interesting question, whether the children of the mission will be disposed and able to exert the needful conservative influence in this new Christian community, when the missionary fathers are gone? It will perhaps be best not only to discuss this question among ourselves, but to carry it to the young people. The education received at Punahou, in the Oahu College, is probably quite as valuable, on the whole, as that given at our American colleges in my early days. I hope an additional instructor may ere long be added, to carry the studies farther than they can be with the present force. It is worthy of consideration, whether the study of the language of these Islands should not be added, at least for those pupils who derive their college support from the funds of the American Board. That this has not been done already, I am informed, is owing to some aversion which the students have to learning the language. The evil is certainly not invincible; it is not one to be overcome by the trustees of the college, but by this body; and it seems a proper subject for our consideration. The young people need only to take a broader view of their future relations and duties. The fact will have good influence upon them, that a knowledge of the native language is found to be a valuable acquisition to those who possess it.

5. The manner of prosecuting the mission in *Micronesia* has difficulties, which we hope this meeting will be able to remove. That mission, owing to causes I need not take

time to mention, was commenced on too large a scale, territorially. It can meet only once a year, and then at great expense; and, in the mean while, there can be no intercommunication whatever between the stations. This is far from realizing our idea of a mission, and does not justify the expense of the annual meeting. At first it was thought we must relinquish altogether the two high islands farthest west, but the number of hopeful conversions on Ponape and Kusaie has seemed to forbid. The latter island will be occupied by a native missionary, probably Kanoa; and the former by two American missionaries, with native aid, and will perhaps become a future base to the operations among the islands farther west. As to the Gilbert and Marshall Islands, we think them too low and unproductive, and too destitute of fresh water, to be the permanent residence of American families. Kanoa informs me, however, that the water is less brackish than that used by the natives in the southern districts of Hawaii. Our present impression is, that (excepting occasional residences for the sake of translating) the low islands should be occupied by Sandwich Islanders, to be visited by the missionaries once or twice a year; and the valuable experience gained at the Marquesas shows that this will suffice. Where the visiting missionaries should make their home, is among the unsettled questions. They might perhaps be connected with this Association; and it may be that the whole oversight of the operations in Micronesia, could be committed to the Association. The subject is one for the consideration of this meeting, which will be glad of the personal assistance of our brother Doane. I have also a carefully written letter on the subject from Dr. Gulick.

When the responsibility of the work at the Islands has once been transferred to the new Christian community here, the Prudential Committee will regard its own responsibility as limited to the making of such grants, as are requested by that community, or by the working Board it may create.

The American Board will, however, continue its interest—how could it do otherwise?—in the prosperity of the churches formed on these Islands. The channels for communicating with the American Christian public will continue open to the brethren, as heretofore: and indeed the Board could not afford to make grants to the Islands, unless the brethren here do their share in cultivating the missionary spirit in the churches at home. The Sandwich Islands will have a place in our Annual Reports, and at the Annual Meetings, so long as the Board continues to make grants. Indeed, the more completely these churches attend to their own affairs, and the less dependent they are on the parent churches, the more interesting will these Islands be to our home community, as a monument of the efficacy of the missionary work.

It remains to offer some suggestions as to the working body for doing the business here; and there is happily a large amount of experience to throw light upon this part of our way. In preparing to pass the island-work over to the Christian community here, we propose that the Hawaiian Evangelical Association make itself the actual representative body of the entire evangelical community on the Islands, both native and foreign, and appoint a working Board, to act in the intervals of its meetings. In our

reflections it has seemed, that the evangelical community would be adequately represented by the ministers, native and foreign, of the bodies that approximate more or less nearly to the Congregational and Presbyterian Churches; also, of those who were formerly lay-missionaries of the Board; and of a certain number of lay-delegates, sent by the several ecclesiastical bodies in the Islands. Representing, as this body then would, the native community, there would be an obvious propriety in making the same use of the Hawaiian language, that is made of it in the Lower House of the National Government. The working Board should of course have a suitable proportion of native pastors and laymen among its members. The Islands of Oahu and Maui could furnish a working *quorum*, that might easily assemble at Honolulu, but members should be elected from all the Islands. The constitution of this body would be as simple, as that of any of the working bodies in the United States. If Home Missions, Foreign Missions, the Education of Native Ministers and their wives, and the Publication of Books, are all committed to it,—as would be advisable in the present infant state of the community,—these several departments could be committed by the Board to as many distinct committees, selected from its own body, and it could act with their information and advice before it,—the Corresponding Secretary sustaining a common *ex officio* relation to all the committees. Time and experience would suggest the needed modifications. The Annual Letter of the Prudential Committee would be addressed, as heretofore, to the Evangelical Association; our occasional business correspondence would be with the Board; and the individual missionaries would continue to

write to us, as from the beginning. This Board would supersede the Advisory Committee; and would appoint a suitable committee, with whom we might communicate on the matter of salaries to the old missionaries, and of aid to their children at Punahou; but I hope their salaries will be so settled, before my return and during this session, that there will be little or no need of revising them from year to year. Such committees as I have suggested are common in all the Boards at home. They will be responsible to the Board which alone appoints them; they will not come at all before the community as distinct organizations; and their proceedings will be embodied in the Annual Report, which the Board will make to the Evangelical Association at its meeting. And when the Report is made, the Association will naturally pass it under revision, as the American Board is accustomed to revise the Annual Report of the Prudential Committee; and after it is revised and adopted, it will become the Annual Report of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association, and be published as such.

It must be obvious that it will require the whole time and strength of the Corresponding Secretary, whoever he may be, to carry out this plan; yet it is perfectly simple, and will work easily, if conducted with tolerable skill and energy. The plan should be thoroughly comprehended by the Secretary, at the outset.

The Prudential Committee does not undertake to recommend particular ecclesiastical measures. Yet it was proper to advise your substituting the *ecclesiastical* for the *missionary*, in your relation to the native pastors and churches; and to arrange your churches and congregations within

convenient territorial limits for attending worship on the Sabbath; and—as is already done in some of your districts—to have native pastors instituted in them as fast as the suitable men can be obtained. Kuaea, the most intelligent of the native pastors, whose character Mr. Emerson, his missionary father, declares beyond reproach, thinks that the best of the Lahainaluna graduates would like to be made pastors; and he believes that a year's study with Mr. Alexander would prepare them for the ministry. He gave me the names of thirteen persons whom he deemed suitable candidates,—some of them with further instruction,—for the pastoral office. He thinks the native pastor, when ordained, should be subject to superintendence by his ecclesiastical body, but not by individual missionaries. He says, that if members are admitted to the church too hastily, or fail of being disciplined as they should be, the local ecclesiastical body will know the fact, and can correct the evil. He would like to have all pastors required to report the number of their admissions quarterly, and if any member thinks they go too fast, he can say so. Kuaea says, it would be an excellent plan for the local ecclesiastical body to remove pastors, who have preached long enough in one place, to some other place, and that the ecclesiastical body ought to exercise this power; that if they should do so, it would obviate a great objection to putting natives into the pastoral office. He is of opinion, that creating a feeling of responsibility in native pastors will be the best safeguard, in connection with their responsibility to the ecclesiastical bodies already mentioned. He also says, that the aversion of the people to having native pastors, is a thing which may easily be overcome.

In conclusion I may say, that after the American Board has transferred its responsibilities, in the manner proposed, to the newly created evangelical community here, the Christian world will have a new and striking proof, that the missionary work at these Islands is no failure. Men will then see, too, that there is a beginning, middle, and end, to be aimed at in the missionary enterprise, as in every other progressive work. Thus there will be an accelerated progress in missions, because there will be more expectation of progress, and more direct effort to secure it, and to bring the work to a close.

Having analyzed the subjects now under discussion, I respectfully present them in the following form, for reference to committees, if such be the pleasure of the Association, viz. :

1. How far it is desirable to form distinct churches throughout the Islands, independent of each other, but under the supervision of the Island ecclesiastical bodies ;—how far it is desirable and practicable to obtain and constitute native pastors for the several Islands ;—whether the time has come when a purely ecclesiastical control of the native pastors should take the place of that which has grown out of the missionary relations ;—and to what extent this ecclesiastical control should be exercised.

2. Whether it be not expedient, hereafter, to educate natives expressly and avowedly for the pastoral office ; and also native females, of suitable age and character, in such a way that they shall be fitted to become the wives of pastors ; and what education these two classes should receive, and where, and from whom. Also, should any part of the

funds of the American Board be employed in teaching the English language.

3. State of the religious and moral literature of the Islands; what are its deficiencies; and what ought to be done in this department.

4. How far the foreign missions, sent from these Islands, have exerted a beneficial reactionary influence on the evangelical community,—carried on, as they have been, with no corresponding system of home missions; and what is the nature and extent of the call, on these Islands, for home missions.

5. Whether it be expedient for the American Board to send out more laborers from the United States, to occupy the important centres when the missionary fathers are called to leave them; or whether the children of the mission will be disposed and able to exert the needful conservative influence, after the fathers are gone. Also, how far the children of the mission are conversant with the native language, and what means are used, and ought to be used, to acquaint them with it.

6. Whether the new Christian community should now assume a leading responsibility in building up the kingdom of Christ on these Islands, aided by grants from the United States; and the probable effect of the proposed change in the relations of the American Board to this community.

7. The proposed arrangement for the support of the former missionaries of the American Board, without further dependence on the contributions of the native churches; and the basis and amount of the various salaries.

8. Whether it be desirable for the Hawaiian Evangelical Association to represent the entire evangelical community

on the Islands, both foreign and native;—in what way this should be done;—and the use which should be made of the Hawaiian language in its records and deliberations. Also, whether it be not expedient for the Association to appoint a Board to act in the intervals of its meetings, for the prosecution of home and foreign missions, for the education of native ministers and their wives, and for the publication of books;—and to report the necessary modifications of the constitution of the Association.

9. Whether, and how far, the proposed changes in the Mission to Micronesia will enable the Board of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association to assume the conduct of the mission to those Islands.

What we need, on these important subjects, is the *deliberate opinions of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association*. In the business meetings of the Western Asia and India Missions, in 1854–5, occupying seventy-eight days, it was found, that the best way to secure the opinions of the meeting is, to appoint committees on the different subjects before the discussion is entered upon, with the understanding that the brother first named sustain the responsibility of chairman. The committees, and especially the chairmen, then listen attentively to the discussion; and as the precise duty is to report the sense of the meeting, and not the particular views which the committee happen to entertain, the only question upon the report is, how far it is an accurate statement; unless, indeed, the meeting should then take a new and different view on some point. I was surprised at the general accuracy of the reports in the Eastern missions; though they often needed some emend-

ation, and sometimes it was found necessary to recommit them. They were all subsequently printed for private use, —the India reports in Madras and Calcutta ; the Mediterranean in Boston ;—and Dr. Mullens, of Calcutta, one of the best missionary authorities, has declared the printed volume of six hundred pages, containing those reports, to embody more valuable information, on the details of missionary experience, than any other volume of equal size. I respectfully ask, that the Evangelical Association pursue the same course with the subjects now presented, and that the several committees exercise the care of their Eastern brethren in drawing up their reports.

I have now gone through with the laborious duties; which Providence was pleased to devolve upon me in these Islands, and consider my work as in a great measure done. Upon you, dear brethren, devolves the chief duty of judging and acting in the premises, though I will afford such aid in the discussion as I can. May the Lord preside in our meeting, guide our deliberations, and lead us to results, which shall secure for us the gratitude, not only of our own generation, but of future ages, till the millennium shall come and gladden all nations.

REPORTS.

I.

NATIVE CHURCHES AND PASTORS, AND THEIR SUPERVISION.

[The Committee were J. W. SMITH, B. W. PARKER, and A. O. FORBES.]

“How far is it desirable to form distinct churches throughout the Islands, independent of each other, but under the supervision of the Island-ecclesiastical bodies ;—how far is it desirable and practicable to obtain and constitute native pastors for the several Islands ;—whether the time has come when a purely ecclesiastical control of the native pastors should take the place of that which has grown out of the missionary relations,—and to what extent this ecclesiastical control should be exercised.”

The object of missionary labor among the unevangelized, is to convert men from the error of their ways unto the living God. In the prosecution of this work, all converts who give credible evidence of “repentance towards God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ,” should be gathered into churches, and be watched over and instructed according to the directions in the Gospel.

During the *infancy* of churches so gathered from among the heathen, the missionary must necessarily exercise the pastoral control ; for, ordinarily, there is no one else to do it. But as the converts increase in knowledge, wisdom,

and strength of Christian character, the period sooner or later arrives, when native converts should be ordained to the gospel ministry, and inducted into the pastoral office; and the missionary, as such, should cease to have the exclusive ecclesiastical control; and thus the churches be placed on a footing to perpetuate themselves, independent of foreign aid. Let us apply these principles to the Hawaiian Mission.

The Gospel has been preached here for more than forty years; the Lord of the harvest has eminently blessed the labors of his servants; converts have been multiplied by thousands; and large churches have been formed, over which the missionaries have hitherto been the pastors.

In only a very few cases have natives been ordained, and placed over independent churches. For this backwardness to introduce natives into the pastoral office, there have existed several reasons, believed by us, at the time, to be good and substantial.

The most prominent of these reasons are, the instability of the native character; their proneness to be "puffed up," and "high minded," when invested with authority; the high standard of qualifications believed by us to be necessary for a minister of the Gospel; and lastly, quite a number of our best men, who might have been pastors here, have been sent away on missions to other islands.

Nevertheless it is believed, that the time has now come when a decided advance should be made; and a considerable number of new churches should be formed without delay, and placed under the care of native pastors. Most of the missionary brethren are now somewhat advanced

in life, and cannot, according to the course of nature, expect to labor many years longer; and as wise men who love their people, it behooves them to make provision, as far as possible, for the future welfare of their churches.

And again, many of the fields, now under the care of a single pastor, are very large, extended over a region fifty or sixty miles in length, and it is impossible for all the people, scattered over a field so extensive, to receive much pastoral care from one man.

It is, therefore, desirable and expedient, that the large fields be divided into separate churches, and that native pastors be placed over them. By an estimate, made since our meeting commenced by each missionary for his own field, it appears that, on all the Islands, more than forty churches might thus be formed, provided suitable pastors can be obtained. Of this number, twenty-two are on the island of Hawaii, six on Maui, three on Molokai, ten on Oahu, five on Kauai, and one on Niihau; making forty-seven in all.

The chief difficulty will be to find the suitable men for pastors. Probably the whole number will not be found for a considerable time to come. But it is believed there are a few, whom it would be safe to ordain immediately; and there are a number of other graduates from the Lahainaluna Seminary, and some, not graduates, who, with a brief period of instruction under some one of the missionary fathers, would be fit for the pastoral office. And in accordance with the maxim, that "the demand creates the supply," it is believed, that when it shall become known that native pastors are wanted, many young men will give their attention to preparation for the ministry;

and that the churches will be incited to pray the Lord of the harvest to raise up, and send forth laborers into his harvest; and thus eventually most of the churches will be supplied with native pastors.

As to the control over these pastors and churches, there cannot be much diversity of opinion. While the old missionary, from his age, and experience, and superior attainments, will inevitably continue to exert a considerable influence over the churches and pastors near him, the ecclesiastical control should be exclusively in the Island Associations. They must organize these churches, define their territorial limits, ordain and install the pastors, and remove them when it is desirable to do so; and this supervision should extend to doctrine, discipline, and practice. But the details of this supervision must be left, in a considerable degree, to the organized ecclesiastical bodies on the respective Islands; and from their decision, there should, ordinarily, be no appeal. But the Island Association, as a body, will of course be allowed to refer cases of particular difficulty to the central body, which meets annually at Honolulu, for its advice and counsel.

II.

EDUCATION OF NATIVE MINISTERS; AND TEACHING THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

[The Committee were J. F. POGUE, H. H. PARKER, and O. H. GULICK.]

“Whether it be not expedient, hereafter, to educate natives expressly and avowedly for the pastoral office; and also native females, of suitable age and character, in such

a way that they shall be fitted to become the wives of pastors; and what education these two classes should receive, and where, and from whom. Also, should any part of the funds of the American Board be employed in teaching the English language."

1. The Pastorate is a power for good, which cannot be estimated upon earth. Other things being equal, in proportion to the intelligence, piety, and devotion of the pastor of any church, will be the intelligence, piety, and devotion of that church; so also of a community of churches. It has never been supposed that all of the churches on these Islands were to be supplied with pastors from other lands, but that native pastors would be placed over them just as fast as suitable candidates could be found for the purpose. The efforts of the mission have been directed to this point, more especially for the last six years. These efforts have not been entirely in vain, as we now have nine men living, who have been ordained to this work, each of whom, with the exception of two, have been pastors of churches in this land. We are now, however, in the providence of God, called to take a step forward; to educate men directly and avowedly with the view of their being ordained as independent pastors over churches, subject alone to the control of the ecclesiastical body to which they belong.

This we think will have a tendency to make them feel more deeply the responsibility of the work, and the necessity of exerting themselves to prepare for it more than they otherwise would do. In carrying out this idea, many obstacles will present themselves;—in the character of those who may be educated; in their want of experience in managing the affairs of the churches, and of executive

ability ; in temptations to engage in other employments ; and in being tampered with by wicked men to carry out their designs. These obstacles, however, are not insuperable. With energy, patience, perseverance, and the aid of the Holy Spirit, they may be overcome, and the day be not far distant when we may have many churches presided over by pious, devoted, educated Hawaiians, long after their spiritual fathers have gone to receive their reward in heaven.

It is acknowledged that we have material upon all the Islands for this purpose. Were it not so, after the labor which has been expended upon the people for the last forty-three years, it would be a strange phenomenon indeed ; so strange that we cannot think that it exists. We may differ in opinion, however, as to the quantity and quality of this material.

In undertaking this work it is encouraging to remember, that of all the Hawaiians, who have been set apart to this sacred office, no one, so far as we know, has fallen into open sin, and thus brought dishonor upon this holy cause.

The education necessary for those whom we propose to put into this office, should in all respects be the very best they can have. They should be educated physically, intellectually, and morally, that they may become practical, efficient, energetic, wise and holy co-workers with God in building up his kingdom upon these Islands.

To give them this preparation, the education they obtain at the Seminary at Lahainaluna, and in their meetings with their pastors, as deacons and elders of the church, is not sufficient. They will need more. They will require to be systematically instructed in those peculiar studies, which are adapted to prepare them for the ministerial and pastoral office.

It has been proposed to have a Seminary for this object. Others have suggested, that some one be set apart for this specific work, to whom candidates may resort, for a year or more, after completing the course at Lahainaluna. By others it is thought, that the work may be left to each pastor to take as many students under his care as he pleases, and fit them for the work.

It is believed that we do not need a Theological Seminary. Nor will the work be done, if left to the spontaneous action of each missionary. Not that they would be reluctant to engage in such a work, but their hands are already more than full of other work. Hence it is almost impossible for them to add this to their other labors. Besides, we have tried the plan, and with ill success. It is therefore recommended, that some good man or men be designated for this work, and take graduates from the Seminary, who desire to prepare themselves for the ministry, with others whom the local ecclesiastical bodies may recommend, and instruct them for one or two years in studies bearing directly on the pastoral office. The Rev. William P. Alexander has been named as a suitable man for such an instructor, and Wailuku on Maui as a suitable place; and it is recommended, that local Associations designate some one of their own number, to whom candidates may resort.

2. The education of wives for these pastors, and also for teachers of female schools, is a subject second in importance only to the former. With a suitable wife, a pastor may double his influence; with an unsuitable wife, his influence must be greatly curtailed. There are more difficulties in this case, than in the former. The

need of pious wives, with a good domestic training for the educated men of the nation, has been painfully felt for years in this land. It has crippled our efforts in every department. Schools have been established for taking very young girls to educate for a series of years, that they may be fitted to become companions for the educated classes of the nation. These schools have been taught, for the most part, in the English language. What we most need, now, is wives for those ordained to the pastoral office, in distinction from the whole educated class.

The education needed for such is a good common school education, with a thorough domestic training. This education should be in the Hawaiian language. There are several ways of securing the object, but the most feasible is by means of a seminary or seminaries established for the purpose. The schools should be in rural, healthy districts, as far as possible from the temptations of our seaports.

Your committee were pleased to hear our brother, O. H. Gulick, give his consent, with that of his companion, to taking charge of such a school. We believe they are fitted for the work, and that the station occupied by them is one of the best places on the Islands, all things considered, for such a school. Hence it is recommended that a school for the education of wives for native pastors and of school teachers, be established at that place, and that they be the teachers of that school; and also that those who enter the school be from twelve to fifteen years of age.

There is a prospect that an institution for the education of Hawaiian females will be opened, during the present year, at Makawao on Maui, to be under the superintend-

ence of Mr. J. P. Green, and his sister, Miss M. Green. Should this school prove to be of the character supposed, we would advise the brethren of Maui to aid it with their influence, prayers, and contributions.

3. The third topic for our consideration reads thus: "Should any part of the funds of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions be employed in teaching the English language?" We would say, No. Not that the English language ought not to be studied, in some cases, in our schools and seminaries of learning; but the Hawaiian Government will take care of that, and it is their appropriate work.

III.

LITERATURE OF THE ISLANDS.

[The Committee were S. E. BISHOP, D. DOLE, and L. ANDREWS.]

"State of the Religious and Moral Literature of the Islands; what are its deficiencies, and what ought to be done in this department?"

The supply of books for the religious and moral instruction of the Hawaiian people, has always been of the highest importance in the estimation of this mission. Upon no department of missionary work has there been a greater expenditure of labor and money, than upon the

preparation and publishing of books, judged to be adapted to the condition of the people. Besides the Old and New Testaments, a great variety of books has been issued, including religious tracts and volumes, doctrinal works, school books, scientific compends for common and higher schools, and religious newspapers ; in all, about 125 different works, and more than 200,000,000 of pages.

Until perhaps ten years ago, the activity of the mission press continued unabated, and the supply of books equalled the demand as fully as could have been expected. Since that period, the supply has been declining. From various causes, the amount of funds appropriated to the press of late has been small. Increasing age and cares have materially impaired the ability of the missionaries to prepare or translate new works. At the same time, with the progress of the churches and people in scriptural and mental light, there has been a steady increase in their wants.

To meet these wants, several new works have been printed during the past ten years, and some new editions of those formerly published, while the Government has printed some school and law books, and a few secular books and newspapers have issued from other presses in Honolulu. As the result of the whole, while there is a good supply of leading works on hand, there are at this time more serious deficiencies in this department, than there have been at any time before in twenty years, and these deficiencies are annually increasing. The subjoined table contains a succinct statement of the Books and Papers published in the Hawaiian language, and of those now remaining on hand, which are italicised.

Name of the Work.	Copies printed.	Cop. on hand.
<i>Entire Bible,</i>	120,000	2,730
New Testament, Hawaiian, . . .	60,000	none.
<i>New Testament, Hawaiian and English,</i>	6,000	3,400
Aiokala,	150,000	none.
<i>Doctrinal Catechism,</i>	30,000	3,475
Other Catechisms and Bible Class Books,	40,000	none.
Thirty Tracts,	120,000	none.
<i>Pilgrim's Progress,</i>	10,000	3,800
<i>Volume of Sermons,</i>	5,500	1 or 200
<i>Theological Class Book,</i>	5,500	4,500
<i>Clark's Scripture Promises,</i>		a few.
Wayland's Moral Science,	7,000	none.
Natural Theology, (Galen,)	2,500	none.
Evidences of Christianity,	500	none.
Political Economy, Wayland's, . . .	400	none.
<i>Church History,</i>	2,500	a supply.
Scripture History, Ninau Hoike, . .	10,000	none.
Ancient History,		none.
Hawaiian History,		none.
<i>Alakai Mua,</i>		360
First Book, 5 or 6 kinds,		none.
<i>Pictorial Primer,</i>		a supply.
<i>Child's Arithmetic,</i>		a supply.
Mental Arithmetic,		none.
Written Arithmetic, Colburn's, . . .		none.
<i>Huina helu,</i>	12,000	3,150
<i>Bailey's Algebra,</i> (stereotyped,) . .	1,500	some.
Volume of Mathematics,		none.
<i>Legendre's Geometry,</i>		a few.
<i>Geometry for Children,</i>	5,000	2,400
<i>Geography, with Maps,</i>		1,000
Chronology,		none.

Name of the Work.	Copies printed.	Cop. on hand.
Astronomy,		none.
Anatomy,		none.
Tract Primer,	3,000	coming.
Hymns, with Music, for Children,	3,000	coming.
<i>Hymn Books</i> ,	100,000	a supply.
Child's Hymn Book,	10,000	none.
<i>Līra Hawaii</i> ,	20,000	4,400
<i>Hawaiian Grammar</i> ,		a supply.
<i>Hawaiian and English Phrase Book</i> ,		a supply.
Hawaiian and English Vocabulary,		none.
<i>Laie Kawai</i> ,		
Statute Laws, 1846, 2 vols.,		
Civil Code, 3 vols.,		
Penal Code, 1 vol.,		
Department Reports,		
<i>Military Tactics</i> ,		a supply.
<i>Atlas</i> ,		
<i>Map of World</i> ,		a few.

'Lama Hawaii,' *Weekly Newspaper*.

'Kumu Hawaii,' " "

'Elele Hawaii,' " "

'Humu Kamalu,' " "

'Nona Nona,' " "

'Nu Hou,' " "

'Hae Hawaii,' " "

'Hoku Loa,' " "

'Hoku Pakifika,' " " Now published.

'Nupepa Kuokoa.' " " " "

The deficiencies in this department may, for the sake of convenience, be stated under three divisions, based upon the wants of different classes of the people.

1. Deficiencies in the supply of *books for theological and other higher instruction.*

With the increase of a native ministry, there comes an indispensable and growing necessity for aids in the use and understanding of the Scriptures, and for books in illustration and defense of divine truth.

Other Hawaiians of the educated class, also, need some additional aids for their progress in important knowledge.

A Commentary upon the Scriptures is needed, for lack of which the present progress and usefulness of native preachers is greatly retarded. A Concordance of the Scriptures is also very important for their use.

Treatises upon Pastoral duties, and Homiletics, may be named as desirable; also, a translation of Cummings's Scripture Manual.

New editions are much needed of the following works; viz.: Natural Theology, Evidences of Christianity, Moral Philosophy, Scripture History, Chronology, Ancient History, Political Economy, Astronomy, Anatomy, and the Higher Mathematics.

A Compend of Modern History may be named as desirable; also, a book upon Family Medical Practice, and one upon the Laws of Health.

2. Deficiencies in the supply of literature for the use and instruction of *the more intelligent of the common people.*

All catechisms, Bible-class books, and Scripture question books, except the *Ui*, are out of print.

A good series of Bible-class books seems very important. All tracts are out of print. Tracts on Temperance, on Marriage, on the Sabbath, and on the whole circle of practical duties, are especially needed, as well as tracts of religious appeal and instruction.

The Christian Almanac should have a regular annual issue ; and the *Ai o ka la* a new edition.

There is a call also for religious Biographies suited to the capacity of the people ; and for a well-written and illustrated book of Scripture History and Biography, for popular use.

Three thousand eight hundred unbound copies of Pilgrim's Progress remain on hand. It is rather unsaleable, from a lack of ready comprehension of the story by the popular mind. Your committee would suggest, that a supply of illustrative engravings could easily be procured from the East, and bound in with the volumes, which would render the book attractive, and facilitate its comprehension.

To the foregoing necessities should be added, as one of the greatest, that of a Religious Newspaper, of which the churches are now destitute. Such a paper is needed at this time, to be the organ of the new Christian community, and the medium through which the operations of the churches, and of their working Board in the various departments of Home and Foreign Missions, Education and Publication, shall be made known, funds solicited and accounted for, missionary intelligence published, and the churches all be put into regular communi-

cation with each other. Such a newspaper is deemed indispensable to the prosperous working of the changes now under consideration. It should be characterized by brief, pointed, interesting articles, and should be issued at least monthly.

Much moral instruction might be conveyed through the columns of the *Nupepa Kuokoa*, into which considerable improvement will doubtless be introduced, as time, experience and Christian aid contribute to its advance.

While the publisher of the *Kuokoa* adheres to his determination to render it strictly neutral as to matters of religious controversy, he desires to conduct it so as efficiently to promote the moral and intellectual progress of the nation; and to this end, he will undoubtedly welcome to its columns articles, or series of articles, properly prepared, upon health, temperance, social customs, and moral subjects generally; together with missionary intelligence, and articles upon practical religion.

In the supply of such articles for the columns of the secular paper, there is at present a most serious deficiency.

3. Deficiencies in books for *children, and the more ignorant* of the people. These constitute the great majority of the nation. There is an especial and long standing deficiency of books adapted to amuse and instruct this class of minds, who do not readily understand even the simplest books, and are indisposed to the exertion of reading.

The Pictorial Primer, published by the Board of Education, is peculiarly adapted to the use and appreciation of

this class, but conveys little moral, and no religious, instruction. The Tract Primer, now on the way hither, will be of excellent service in this respect. The Children's Hymn Book will also be welcome.

A simple Catechism is very greatly needed for the instruction of the children, and the ignorant adults. One or more small volumes of Scripture Stories, written in an interesting style, and abundantly illustrated by cuts, in the style of the best and simplest books for young children, would probably be of more service to this class, than any other book, in leading them voluntarily to get some familiarity with the great facts of divine truth.

Abbott's "Right and Wrong," would be a useful work for them, with much simplification, and a higher religious element supplied. "Learning to Think," or a book in a similar strain, would be valuable to them.

In all this class of books, the Pictorial element will be of the highest importance, and should be carefully studied, with special regard that the pictures illustrate the text.

Whatever religious newspaper is published, a child's department should be introduced, and be the object of especial attention.

What ought to be done in this department?

It is seen by the foregoing statement of deficiencies and wants, that the state of the moral and religious literature of the Islands is low; lower relatively to the wants of the people, than it has been at any time since the press was at its highest point of activity; without a religious periodical, with a large proportion of valuable works out

of print, without adequate helps for the religious instruction of the childish and ignorant.

This deficiency exists, too, at a time when there is a great increase of secular literature, and also of the number, variety, and activity of hostile forces.

It therefore seems to be an imperative necessity, that there should be at once a great accession of vigor to this department, and the publication of books, tracts, and a religious newspaper, should be pushed forward as speedily as possible.

The revising of many books now out of print, the choice and preparation of many new ones, the economical application of funds to the printing, the correcting for the press, the management of a religious paper, the co-operating with the Kuokoa for the supply of moral instruction, the distribution of literary works among the different brethren, and the thorough infusion of a healthy activity and vitality into the whole department; together constitute a work that will require the entire energies and time of one efficient man.

It seems plain that the required work cannot be economically or efficiently done, unless such a man shall devote himself to it.

Such of the printing as it shall be found best to have done here, may be contracted for in Honolulu at reasonable rates. The same is doubtless true of the binding.

IV.

NECESSITY FOR HOME MISSIONS, AS WELL AS FOREIGN.

[The Committee were S. C. DAMON, L. SMITH, and E. JOHNSON.]

“How far the Foreign Missions, sent from these Islands, have exerted a beneficial reactionary influence on the evangelical community—carried on, as they have been, with no corresponding system of Home Missions; and what is the nature and extent of the call, on these Islands, for Home Missions.”

The establishment, growth, and development of the Christian Church upon the Hawaiian Islands show, that the same principles are necessarily evolved, as in older and better established Christian communities. When pastors and their churches are alive and in a healthy spiritual state, they feel an irrepressible desire to obey our divine Saviour's last command; “Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature.” In their efforts to evangelize the inhabitants upon distant islands of Polynesia, Hawaiian Christians have experienced a most striking verification of the scriptural declarations: “There is that scattereth, and yet increaseth.” “The liberal soul shall be made fat; and he that watereth shall be watered himself.” “Give, and it shall be given unto you; good measure, pressed down, and shaken together, and running over, shall men give into your bosom.” “It is more blessed to give than to receive.”

Systematic efforts to advance the cause of Foreign Mis-

sions, commenced with the organization of the Hawaiian Missionary Society, in 1851. Our first Hawaiian missionaries, in company with those of the American Board, sailed for Micronesia in 1852.

During the following year, our Society sent out another band of missionaries to the Marquesas Islands. Additional missionaries have gone, from year to year, in both directions. The results of their labors have been most gratifying. The reactionary influence has been very great upon our churches. According to the amount of intelligence received and published, thirty, sixty, and one hundred fold has been the spiritual harvest. Sending out missionaries, contributing for their support, hearing of their prosperity and adversity, the establishment of churches, the translation and printing of the Bible, have caused the pulse of Hawaiian Christians to beat with high and holy zeal. The important fact is now regarded as established beyond all controversy, that the vigorous prosecution of the foreign missionary enterprise is an essential element in the healthy well-being of the Christian church. The same principles are found to operate here, as in the churches of England and America.

While your committee take pleasure in making these statements, the fact is forced upon their consideration, that the Hawaiian churches have not adopted a corresponding system of Home Missions. They have manifested much zeal in the building of church edifices; and when the people of any locality were unable to build their own meeting-houses, other churches have generously contributed for their aid. Facts are continually being presented, which indicate that something should be done to bring forward this branch of Christian benevolence. There are

many localities upon the Islands, where the churches, which it is proposed to organize, will need the aid of some home missionary organization. Hence it is most earnestly to be hoped that, in remodeling our ecclesiastical organizations, something may be effectually done upon this subject. Both foreign and home missions must be harmoniously and vigorously prosecuted, for the full and perfect development of Christianity, as it exists in our churches. When this is done, they will mutually aid each other. If Foreign Missions languish, the energies of the churches will be benumbed and deadened; and if Home Missions are neglected, the sources will be dried up, from which to draw both means and men for the foreign missionary enterprise.

Under these circumstances, your committee would strongly recommend that Home Missions hereafter be made to occupy a far more prominent position, than they have hitherto done. Your committee are also fully of the opinion, that this branch of Christian benevolence will be favorably received by the Hawaiian Christian community, when the fact is considered that native pastors are to be ordained and placed over churches which are to be organized.

V.

THE LABORERS FOR THE FIELD.

[The Committee were T. COAN, D. BALDWIN, and E. O. HALL.]

“Whether it be expedient for the American Board to send out more laborers from the United States, to occupy the important centres when the missionary fathers are called to leave them; or whether the children of the mis-

sion will be disposed and able to exert the needful conservative influence, after the fathers are gone.

“Also, how far the children of the mission are conversant with the native language, and what means are used, and ought to be used, to acquaint them with it.”

1. With regard to the subject of inquiry in the first of the foregoing paragraphs, your committee are of the opinion, that all or nearly all the stations now occupied by foreign pastors, should be so occupied for many years to come.

To begin with HAWAII :—*Hilo* is the port for all Eastern Hawaii, the capital of the island, and a place of growing importance. No one will doubt the necessity of its being occupied indefinitely by a foreign minister, both on account of its foreign population, and from its being the centre of two large districts of Hawaii, in which some ten or fifteen native churches may, in due time, be organized, with Hawaiian pastors.

Kau, on the south, has a territory some forty miles long, with a native population of 2,200. It has a central station at Waiohinu, with a good church edifice, a large and commodious mission-house, and all the conveniences for a female school, and also for exerting a healthful spiritual influence among the churches that may be hereafter organized. More than a score of foreigners have come into this district, and we feel that it would be unwise to leave the station without a foreign pastor, especially as it is distant some seventy miles from the nearest mission station.

Kona, on the western side of Hawaii, is a large and populous district, embracing the old capital, Kailua, on the

north, and Haawaloa, the place of Capt. Cook's death, on the south. When native pastors shall have been found for the numerous churches in this district, the whole field may be blessed by the healthful influence of one foreign minister, residing in South Kona. There are many foreigners in this district, who need the care of a spiritual guide; and we cannot foresee the time, when this large and important section should be left without a foreign minister.

We may say the same of *Waimea*, where foreign missionaries have resided for more than thirty years, and which is the central station for South Kohala and Hamakua, a territory from 40 to 50 miles long, with a population of 3,500. There are also many foreigners in this field. North Kohala is a district about thirty miles in length, and separated from South Kohala and Hamakua by a ridge of mountains. It has a population of about 3,000, with an increasing agricultural interest.

Leaving Hawaii, we come to MAUI. Of the importance of *Lahaina*, as a central station, there can be no dispute, not only because of its large native population, but because of its foreign residents and its commercial interests. *Wailuku*, also, is the centre of a large and important field, and of increasing interest on account of the agricultural enterprises now commenced in that district. *Hana* embraces a wide field, inhabited by 4,000 natives, with a stone church, and a good dwelling-house at the centre. It needs the energies of a strong man, and should not be given up, except from stern necessity.

The same is true of MOLOKAI. Separated by wide and rough channels from Maui and Oahu, it should not be left at present without a resident foreign pastor.

Coming to OAHU, we cannot see the time when two

foreign ministers will not be needed to labor in the two large and important native churches of *Honolulu*, and to assist in the many and miscellaneous labors of the metropolis. On the north side of the island, it seems desirable to sustain the two stations of *Kaneohe* and *Waialua*, separated some forty miles from each other, and embracing all the northern and eastern shores of the island for a distance of sixty miles.

It may be that, when a sufficient number of native pastors shall have been installed along this coast, and when the present laborious missionaries shall have been called to their rest, only one central station will be needed in the field, and eventually none.

On *KAUAI* there are now three central stations, and it is doubtless desirable that these should all be occupied by foreign pastors for years to come. Perhaps, however, one foreign minister will answer for that island, after the present incumbents shall have finished their work on earth.

In summing up, we find that we need to sustain five central stations on *Hawaii*, three on *Maui*, one on *Molokai*, three on *Oahu*, and one or two on *Kauai*—making thirteen or fourteen in all. And here your committee would say, it is their strong conviction, that there never was a time since the commencement of this mission, when it was more important to keep vigilant and faithful men, at all these central posts, than now; to abandon these, might be a lack of spiritual economy more disastrous than that of the husbandman, who should leave his harvest to rot in the field, or of the warrior, who should suffer his prize to be wrested from his hands for want of vigilance. And this is the opinion of candid and intelligent observers, who do not belong to our body. All can see, that the native mind

is now wakeful and restless; and that the temptations to turn aside from the sober teachings of truth are many and strong. And should the American Board relax its efforts in this land, for ten, or perhaps twenty years to come, it may lose one half of the fruits of the funds and toils, that have been expended to Christianize and save this nation.

As to the expediency of sending more laborers from the United States, we would say, that this question cannot be absolutely determined now.

Should there be a call of this kind, Providence will indicate it. It may be that some specific want will hereafter arise, showing the desirableness of sending for a man for some particular post, or some special service. If so, we apprehend this will be the exception, not the rule.

It is our hope, and our trust in God, that the children of this mission will come forward, with willing minds and ready hands, to fill the places of their fathers and mothers, after they have rested from their labors.

Four of the sons of this mission are already in the field as pastors; others are engaged as Christian teachers, agriculturists, officers of Government, etc.; and nearly all of our sons, who have arrived at years of reflection, are hopefully pious, and the same is true of our daughters. In this God has greatly blessed us, and our hearts are enlarged. Perhaps no community, of an equal number of families, can be found, where so large a proportion of the children are pious. And many of these children stand ready, and some of them are panting, to engage in this good work.

We believe, also, that a sufficient number will be prepared, through grace, to fill the places of their fathers when they are gone; thus fulfilling the promise: "Instead of

the fathers shall be the children." We trust that our sons will be faithful workmen, and that our daughters will be polished stones in the temple of the Lord on these Islands; and we rest assured that, from this rising band, the Lord will recruit and perpetuate his "sacramental host," his spiritual army in the land.

2. On the question, how far the children of the mission are conversant with the native language, we would remark, that most who have arrived at the age of ten years understand it colloquially; about eighty can speak the language with a good degree of ease and fluency; and more than fifty of the remaining class can use the language to some extent. It is well known that, in the early days of this mission, our children were not allowed to learn the native language. This interdiction was to guard them from the polluting influence of contact with the natives in their most debased state. The course was a wise one, as the results fully show. Less care on the part of the parents might have been disastrous to the moral character of the children. But times have changed. God has heard the cry of these parents, and blessed their efforts. He has been faithful to his people, and to his everlasting covenant. Our children are the subjects of his grace in Christ Jesus. The Hawaiians around us are elevated, clothed, and, as we trust, in very many cases washed in the blood of the Lamb; and, under proper supervision, it is now safe to teach our children the language of the people. And this, as we have shown, has been done, and is being done already, to a considerable extent.

But your committee would recommend, that a more direct and earnest attention be paid to it on the part of the

parents, and all the older children of the mission. We deem it desirable that all our children understand the vernacular tongue, and we think the time has come when they should be taught it, not only colloquially, but scientifically, and analytically; and we hold the same opinion with regard to all Christian foreigners, who purpose to reside in the land. A knowledge of the language, with an ability to read it fluently, and write it correctly, endows one with a power to do good, which should not be lightly esteemed or neglected. It is a talent we all should have and use, and for which we all must give account; and your committee would earnestly recommend, that parents give careful attention to the subject, by teaching their children to speak, read, and write in the Hawaiian language, and that in all proper ways they be encouraged to use the vernacular of the land;—by teaching in secular and Sabbath schools; by speaking in meetings; by conversing with the natives on improving subjects; by attending their religious assemblies and business conventions; by studying their grammar; by reading their literature; by writing articles for their newspapers; by assisting in preparing their books; by communicating with them in matters of business; and by improving all opportunities to do them good.

We would also recommend, that early arrangements be made for teaching the language grammatically at "Oahu College." As to what extent and by whom this shall be done, we leave to the wisdom of the teachers and trustees of that institution.

VI.

RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE NEW PROTESTANT COMMUNITY.

[The Committee were J. D. PARIS, G. P. JUDD, and E. CORWIN.]

“Whether the new Christian community should now assume the responsibility of building up the kingdom of Christ on these Islands, aided by grants from the United States; and the probable effects of the proposed change in the relations of the American Board to this community.”

1. On the first topic, your committee would remark, that we believe there is nothing in the history of missions, or of the world, more clear, than that God in his providence led the way to the establishment of the Sandwich Islands mission.

It is equally clear to all candid observers, who are conversant with the history of these Islands, that from the commencement of the mission through a period of forty-three years, it has been especially guarded by Divine Providence. “As an eagle stirreth up her nest, fluttereth over her young, spreadeth abroad her wings, taketh them, beareth them on her wings,” so the Lord has taken care of this mission. During more than forty years, we have been led through the temptations and trials of this wilderness, and fed with “manna from heaven.” The pillar of cloud by day and of fire by night has hitherto guided and protected us. In all our plans and operations, though with much imperfection, we have ever endeavored to follow

the leadings of Providence. And the Lord has established "the work of our hands upon us."

We stand to-day, with our Christian community on these Islands, as far removed from the abominations of heathenism, which existed when our fathers landed on these shores, as light is from darkness. A nation has been 'born in our day.' "Old things have passed away, behold, all things have become new." The whole structure of society is new. We have civil and religious liberty, with schools, and seminaries of learning, churches and ecclesiastical associations, and the needful appliances for carrying forward the work of the Lord among this people.

We say, then, that we believe the mission, regarded as one of the missions of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, has accomplished its work. And it has been a glorious work, and we believe it will ever be regarded as a monument of the grace of God, and of the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ.

We believe the time has come, when it is expedient to change the base of our operations. The Christian community on these Islands, composed of all evangelical foreigners and natives, is well able to assume the responsibility and take the lead in building up and maintaining our religious institutions.

To the officers, members, and patrons of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, who have so long sympathized with us in our trials, joys, and sorrows, aided us by their prayers and wise counsels, and provided so abundantly for all our wants, we tender our sincere and most hearty thanks. We do not doubt that the American Board will continue to make such grants-in-aid as we may need; and though our relations change,

they will feel a deep and tender interest in the prosperity of all our institutions, and we are assured of their sympathies and prayers.

Your committee deem it of vital importance to the symmetrical and healthful growth of this Christian community, that the missionary pastors, teachers, and local ecclesiastical associations all be vigilant, not only in seeking out young men of promise, piety, zeal, and a sound mind, and training them for the work of the ministry; but that they be more faithful in pressing on Christian parents their responsibility in this matter, and in urging on the pious youth of this nation, especially those in our high schools, of both sexes, the claims of the Lord Jesus Christ, and their individual responsibilities.

2. The probable effects of the proposed change in the relations of the American Board.

While your committee cannot foresee with any certainty the train of results, for good or evil, that may flow from so radical a change, they regard it as wise to take a hopeful view. And we anticipate the happiest results, because we believe the change is urged upon us by the providence of God, and because we have earnestly sought the divine aid and guidance in making it. There has been so much unanimity in our counsels, notwithstanding the existence of so many diverse interests, that we perceive the hand of a higher power, guiding us to wise conclusions. And we have reasons for the hope, that the change will prove salutary, not only to the churches and pastors on these Islands, but to the American Board itself, and to its patrons, and to the missions beyond us that may be transferred to our care.

We can merely indicate a few of the more important of the probable results. We believe the proposed changes will be of advantage to the church of Christ in these Islands :

1. In the independence of character and vigor of action, that will be developed by the pressure of more immediate responsibilities upon the native and foreign pastors and people. We believe that executive ability and self-reliance can in no other way be so well cultivated, as by throwing responsibilities upon men, and causing them to take the lead, and so far as possible to help themselves.

2. In securing more active and systematic benevolence on the part of the people, after the missionary fathers no longer feel embarrassed in presenting the duty of giving to the cause of Christ by the fear of being charged with mercenary motives. There will be much greater freedom and success when such appeals are made, not as too often hitherto for the purpose of raising the pastor's own salary, but for the more general purposes of benevolence, which may be urged the more earnestly, since the people are to be relieved from the support of their missionary pastors. The people, moreover, will feel a far deeper interest in giving the time and money, that are necessary for carrying forward the work, when these changes shall have been carried into every department.

3. Since the proposed change involves the necessity of calling upon the natives to counsel with us in deliberative bodies for the building up of Christ's kingdom in these Islands, through their own chosen representatives, we may hope that it will be of great advantage to the people, in teaching them to prize their religious liberty, the more they are permitted to exercise it. By a short

experience they have learned, that the best safeguard of their *civil* liberty is found in the exercise of the right to discuss public measures ; and they will readily carry over the idea to the connection existing between popular legislation in the church and *religious* liberty. That is best for the people, which is best fitted to guide and encourage them in the exercise of self-government.

4. The change is adapted to awaken in the native population an increase of sympathy with the missionary fathers, when they find themselves more than ever before called to share with them in the responsibilities and honors of so great and good a work.

5. It must excite their ambition to preserve the trust confided to them in its integrity, when they think of its importance, and that they stand before the world committed to the steadfast maintenance of their precious religious faith.

6. Nor is this new responsibility less adapted to humble them, and cause them to feel, more deeply than ever, their dependence on God for the needed grace.

7. The change must be salutary, inasmuch as it will permit the church of Christ in these Islands to avail itself of a feeling of religious patriotism and nationality, by placing the religious community here in a position of independence, as one among the many Christian communities of the world. Analogous to our position politically, as an independent people, our church, being manifestly an outgrowth of the spiritual life of our own people, must be dearer to them when it no more appears like a colonial dependency sustained by the spiritual life of a foreign people.

8. The effects upon the American Board and its patrons

must also be salutary, since they cannot but be encouraged by the fact, that here the problem has been solved, on a national scale, of completing a Christian mission ; a people, not long since heathen, having been trained to the point where they are able to assume a leading part in the conduct of their affairs.

Finally. Your committee believe the effect of the proposed changes must be good, and only good, upon the mission fields beyond us in this Ocean ; involving, as they do, the transfer of the executive power and responsibility from New England, to this central position in the Pacific ; thus bringing the base of operations many thousand miles, and several months of time, nearer to the scene of action. The guiding, controlling power for the working of the Micronesia mission, will be in immediate contact with the little army of devoted laborers, both American and Hawaiian, employed in the spiritual conquest of that interesting field. The American brethren, who may act as leaders and supervisors of that field, will be able at once to counsel with those who are in the best position to appreciate their views, and to sympathize with their wants ; while the work of evangelizing that portion of Polynesia will, for the most part, be performed by a kindred branch of the Polynesian family, which will doubtless be awakened to new interest and zeal in the missionary work, as new responsibilities are thrown upon it.

VII.

SUPPORT OF FORMER MISSIONARIES.

[The Committee were E. W. CLARK, S. N. CASTLE, and D. B. LYMAN.]

“The proposed arrangement for the support of the former missionaries of the American Board, without further dependence on the contributions of the native churches; and the basis and amount of the various salaries.”

The first Instructions to this mission contained the following, as the economical polity by which the mission was to be governed:—“The earnings of the members of the mission, and all moneys and articles of different kinds received by them, or any of them, directly from the funds of the Board, or in the way of donation, shall constitute a common stock, from which they shall severally draw their support, in such proportions and under such regulations, as may from time to time be found advisable, and be approved by the Board, or by the Prudential Committee.”

This is what was called the ‘Common Stock System.’ In accordance with this, a depository of goods was established, and a secular agent appointed, and the wants of the missionaries were supplied from this common fountain, under certain regulations. In the commencement, and while the mission was small, this system, under the kind and careful management of our good brother Chamberlain, was economical, and in a good degree satisfactory. But, as the mission increased, it became more complicated, and less economical, as well as less satisfactory. It was then

modified into what was called the 'Stipend System.' A limit was fixed to the amount which each brother was allowed to draw from the common fund. If it was found, at the end of the year that the full sum was not needed for current expenses, the balance was not to be placed to the credit of the individual, but was at the disposal of the mission for other objects.

After a few years, this system was exchanged for the *bona fide* salary. The depository system was still retained, and goods were furnished to the missionaries at cost, and afterwards at ten per cent advance. This was continued until the important change recommended in 1848, which resulted in placing the missionaries on the same footing as pastors and home missionaries, with no more restrictions in regard to the use of salary and other property which might come into their hands, than are placed, by public opinion, on ministers generally.

This change took place while the progress of civilization and the opening of California greatly increased the expense of living at the Islands.

But such were the contributions of the churches and other resources at the Islands, that the annual amount of aid from the American Board was diminished about one-half, while the missionaries were placed in more favorable circumstances for supporting their families, and educating their children, than ever before; and that too without neglecting materially their appropriate work as ministers of the Gospel; and in some cases a small amount was provided for the future wants of the family.

As the importance of bringing forward and supporting a Native Ministry is becoming more and more pressing, it is now proposed, that the older missionaries receive a salary

from the Board, without drawing upon the Hawaiian churches for any part of their support. The importance of this change is obvious, if we would bring forward a Native Pastorate.

The people are comparatively poor, and, as they progress in civilization, their artificial wants become more pressing; and although they may be advancing in industry, and in property, and in enlightened views of giving for the support of the Gospel, their means are limited. If the larger churches are divided into smaller ones, and native pastors sustained in them, they will be unable to support their foreign pastors. This makes it necessary, that the older missionaries be sustained by the American Board; and even grants in aid of the younger missionaries of foreign origin, and of native pastors, may be needed for a time. It is expected that the native pastors will be sustained mainly, if not entirely, from native resources.

The basis and amount of salary to be granted, is a matter of some importance. It is plain that it cannot be based on the principle of paying for services rendered. Missionary salaries have never been based on this principle. The missionary is not strictly the employé of the Board, or of the churches, but a servant of Christ, engaged in doing the work of his Master. The Board only enables him to do this work to the best advantage. For this purpose a salary is granted, regulated according to the various wants and circumstances of the individual. It is obvious that, in returning to this missionary salary, the houses, lands, etc., placed at the disposal of the missionaries in 1848, must be taken into the account. And as one design of that arrangement was to place missionaries

in a position to secure a support for themselves and families at the Islands, it is reasonable that some regard should now be had to the means and advantages, which this change may have placed in their possession. It is also understood, that these means and advantages, whatever they may be, may now be employed towards the support of the families in such way as will not interfere with missionary usefulness; so that we are not in fact placed on the same basis as before the change in 1848, with the same claims to a full support from the Board. These principles will aid us in coming to a just estimate of the various salaries.

The salary now to be fixed upon, is to be regarded as a permanent arrangement, not to be revised from year to year, and not to be altered, unless some obvious reason shall make it necessary; the individual to be at liberty to receive the whole, or a part, or nothing, as his own sense of duty shall dictate. No grants are to be made for repairs of houses, or for ordinary medical aid. Applications for extraordinary medical aid should be considered as they shall occur. Aid will be granted to widows and superannuated missionaries as heretofore, according to the actual necessities of the case.

The committee recommend, that aid be granted in the education of children at Punahou, [Oahu College,] and at Mr. Dole's school, [at Koloa,] but this is not to be regarded as any part of the salary. The aid to be granted at Punahou not to exceed \$150.00 per annum for any one child, and not to extend beyond five years. The aid to be granted at Mr. Dole's school not to exceed \$75.00 per annum, and the number of years at this school, in which

aid is afforded, is to be deducted from the number allowed at Punahou.*

It is recommended, that the case of the children now at Punahou be considered by the central agency, and aid afforded according to the necessity of individual cases; but not to extend beyond the age of twenty-one for boys, and twenty for girls. In regard to aid for children, application is to be made yearly to the Hawaiian Board, and the approval of this Board will be necessary for the action of the Prudential Committee. If no aid is called for, it will be regarded as not needed.

The committee recommend, that the salaries be considered as due quarterly in advance; but if no part of them shall be called for within six months of the time they become due, the salary shall be considered as relinquished, as the Board can become in no sense a banking institution.

Since the preceding part of the report was read and adopted, the amount of the various salaries has been arranged to the satisfaction of the brethren concerned. It is not necessary to insert the different sums here. The average for each salary amounts to just \$600. The sums now proposed, if ratified by the Prudential Committee, with the aid afforded in the education of the children, and a wise economy in the use of the means in the hands of the brethren, it is believed, will furnish a very comfortable support. Although in some cases a less sum is received than heretofore, the brethren are relieved from the unpleas-

* The Prudential Committee have decided, that all the aid to the children of the missionaries afforded by the Board at the Islands, ought to be in connection with the Oahu College. The best interests of that College and of the Islands require this.—Ed.

ant task of securing any portion of their support from the people, besides having a more sure reliance for the future. If, in individual cases, the salary shall need to be increased, or diminished, hereafter, it can be done by a proper representation from the parties concerned, through the agency of the Hawaiian Board now organized.

In conclusion, we would express our satisfaction with the kind and considerate manner, in which this somewhat perplexing subject of salaries has been met by our esteemed friend, the Foreign Secretary of the Board. If, in any cases, the sums shall not be satisfactory to the Prudential Committee, we believe that any changes, which the Committee in its wisdom may see fit to make, will be cheerfully acquiesced in by the brethren.

We came to these Islands, not to seek our own, but the things which are Jesus Christ's, and we trust his kingdom is still dearer to our hearts, than any earthly possessions.

VIII.

ORGANIZATION OF THE PROTESTANT CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY.

[The Committee were W. P. ALEXANDER, G. B. ROWELL, and C. T. MILLS.]

“Whether it be desirable for the Hawaiian Evangelical Association to represent the entire evangelical community on the Islands, both foreign and native;—in what way this should be done;—and the use which should be made of the Hawaiian language in its records and deliberations.

“Also, whether it be not expedient for the Association to appoint a Board to act in the intervals of its meetings, for the prosecution of home and foreign missions, for the

education of native ministers and their wives, and for the publication of books ;—and to report the necessary modifications in the Constitution of the Association.”

It is eminently desirable that a bond of union be formed, uniting the entire evangelical community of these Islands, both foreign and native. For, although the churches are distant from each other, they all ought to maintain communion and fellowship one with another, because they are all united to Christ. “Union is strength,” and this entire religious community ought to unite for mutual counsel and assistance, and to enter into common measures to build up the kingdom of God, and to oppose the manifold assaults of the common enemy.

The Hawaiian Evangelical Association, which was organized in 1823, and which in 1854 revised and enlarged its constitution, has grown up with the Gospel institutions in this country, and given direction to the efforts which have been crowned with such remarkable success. This Evangelical Association does now in fact represent almost the entire evangelical community on these Islands ; consisting, as it does, of all the missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, together with other evangelical ministers of foreign birth, who sympathize with them in their labors. It now requires only a few modifications to make it just the bond of union we need.

Native pastors should be received as members, and also lay delegates from the churches. The relation existing between the Christian community here, and that springing up in Micronesia and the Marquesas Islands, is so intimate, that the missionaries to those fields ought to be admitted as members of this Association.

Thus organized, a large number of its members would be unable to transact business in the English language, while all, except a few, could do business in the Hawaiian. We think, therefore, that the deliberations of this body ought hereafter to be conducted in the Hawaiian language; while, by means of an interpreter, all that is desired could be communicated to those not acquainted with the Hawaiian; and the records of its proceedings ought to be kept both in English and Hawaiian.

As this Association covers a wide field, and will be expected to meet only once a year, it will obviously be necessary that it appoint an Executive Board, to carry out its plans. To this Board should be committed the prosecution of home and foreign missions, the education of native ministers and their wives, and the publication of books. Its members should be so selected, as fairly to represent the entire community; yet an adequate number to constitute a working *quorum*, should be selected from points near enough to the centre to meet often for consultation. In order to carry out these views, the committee would recommend that our constitution be modified so as to read as follows:

[The Revised Constitution of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association, here reported, is printed at pp. 23, 24.]

In closing their report, the committee would say, that inasmuch as grants in aid of the several great objects committed to this Board will be needed from the American churches, it will obviously be necessary and proper that the Evangelical Association and its Board, and also its ministers of foreign birth or descent, shall continue, as heretofore, to write freely and fully to the Foreign Secre-

tary of the American Board, in order to sustain the interest of the American churches in these Islands; and to enable that Board to make the grants, which from time to time shall be requested by this; it being understood, that the channels of communication with the American churches will continue to be open to us as formerly.

IX.

THE HAWAIIAN BOARD AND MICRONESIA.

[The Committee were E. BOND, E. T. DOANE, and P. T. GULICK.]

“Whether and how far the proposed changes in the Mission to Micronesia will enable the Board of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association to assume the conduct of the Mission to those Islands.”

This problem, in both its aspects, is one which the providence of God has at length made of easy solution. Events speak for us. We seem to have little to do but to listen and follow in the path not doubtfully indicated.

Whether we look at the Micronesia field as it is in itself, or in its relations to these Islands and to the general interests of the missionary enterprise in this Ocean, we are drawn to the conclusion, that the proposed changes in the mission to Micronesia will render it desirable that the Sandwich Islands become the centre of our operations in that region. Needless complications should always be avoided, or there will be such a loss of power as we cannot afford. Moreover there is a necessity for economizing our means in every department of our work. And your com-

mittee are happy to believe, that the missionary work in Micronesia can be well conducted by our own organization, and with increased efficiency ; and there will be a mutual benefit resulting from the two missions being brought into closer relations.

At present, there is no one point in Micronesia conveniently situated for a controlling centre in a mission to those islands. Most of the islands are so low and so limited in their range of vegetable productions, as to be unsuitable abodes for the white missionaries, to which the oversight of the operations in those regions must be committed. They are, moreover, so isolated in respect to each other, that there is almost no reliable means of intercommunication, except by owning or hiring a vessel for that purpose. It is only thus that regular annual meetings of a mission could be secured.

If now we turn to the American Board, we say, not that direction from so remote a point as Boston is impossible,—for it is not,—but that this enterprise cannot be controlled so economically and efficiently from so great a distance, as it can be from the Sandwich Islands ; and further, we are well aware, that the original plan of the Micronesia mission involved something like the arrangement now contemplated.

We therefore regard these Islands as in the best position for conducting the missionary work in Micronesia. Nor shall we have any difficulty in securing a regular communication with them, and on reasonable terms. Needful supplies can always be procured in our market, and with greater facility than elsewhere ; and it is from these Islands that the suitable laborers are to be obtained and sent into that portion of the Master's vineyard. It is also

believed, that the missionary superintendents of the Micronesia field may make the Sandwich Islands the home of their families, while they go upon their stated tours of inspection through that field.

But there are higher and more imperative considerations that may be drawn from the spiritual necessities of our Hawaiian Zion. We would, through the proposed central Board of direction, have our churches become more thoroughly identified with the foreign work in Micronesia; nor should we lose time in bringing these two branches of the missionary enterprise in the Pacific into more intimate relations. "There is that withholdeth more than is meet, and it tendeth to poverty;" and the Hawaiian churches have never yet come up to the full measure of their ability in works of Christian benevolence. They need new and stronger incitement to efforts for sending the Gospel into "regions beyond." Their highest prosperity depends upon it. And what a field for blessing others, and at the same time being blessed in return, is there offered in the seventy-five thousand benighted souls that are found in Micronesia! If our Hawaiian Zion would prosper at home, she must attain to this blessing by means of persistent labors and sacrifices for the good of others. And we would bring her into these labors and sacrifices by this transfer of the Micronesia mission to our Hawaiian Board, now about to be formed; thus laying upon our churches a weight of responsibility, which can neither be ignored, nor evaded. Our younger church members have especial need of feeling the weight of these responsibilities; nor can we for a moment yield to the thought, that a competent home ministry may not be

raised up from this class, as well as an efficient corps of laborers for the foreign field.

Other considerations of a general nature might be mentioned in favor of intrusting the direction of the Micronesia mission to the Hawaiian Board, but enough has been said on the subject. Aided by the counsels and grants of the American Board, this new agency will find, as we fully believe, no insuperable obstacles to a successful prosecution of the work.

We have only to add, that we believe our brethren in Micronesia will all come cordially into the arrangement now proposed.

X.

VALUE OF THE HAWAIIAN AND ENGLISH LANGUAGES IN THE INSTRUCTION OF HAWAIIANS.

[By LORREN ANDREWS.]

EDITORIAL REMARKS.

IN the year 1860, Dr. Armstrong, President of the Government Board of Education, proposed to Judge Andrews a series of questions bearing on the culture of the English language in the native schools. This is the gentleman referred to in the Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association, page 7, as the author of a Hawaiian Dictionary, containing not less than ten thousand Hawaiian words, which, we believe, is about being printed, and mainly at Government expense. He was formerly connected with the Mission, and with the American Board; and while thus connected, was the active and efficient agent in founding what is now the Native College at Lahainaluna. The article on the value of the

Hawaiian and English languages in the instruction of Hawaiians, was read in the Hawaiian Evangelical Association, June 22d, and the portions of it deemed material to our object, are here inserted.

I. VALUE OF EDUCATION IN THE HAWAIIAN LANGUAGE.

“Of how much value has the education, which the natives have received in their own language, been to them?”

I confess I hardly know how to begin to answer such a question. I should probably begin by asking such men as Judge Ii, Kamakau, Kauwahi, and a hundred others, how many dollars they would be willing to take and go back to the state of ignorance and mental imbecility they were in, before they commenced going to school. I think they would answer with one accord, *Aohe!* I think the same answer would be given by thousands over the Islands, provided the terms of the question were fairly understood by them. I remember, while I was teaching at Lahainaluna, this same question, in substance, often came up; and the scholars were always indignant that the idea should be expressed, that they thought little of the instruction they were receiving. Such were their feelings and views of the subject, and these arose entirely from a consciousness of something they had really gained,—not merely the new *ideas*, but a feeling that they had mental power now, where they had comparatively none before.

But the above question may be stated in different words, thus: *What are some of the things of specific value, which*

Hawaiians have gained through the medium of instruction in their own language? Here we can go into a few specifications ; and I shall draw largely on my own experience. In the summer of 1828, I commenced teaching, or rather hearing Hawaiians read, in their own language. That was about the time that the desire to learn to read became prevalent throughout the nation, and schools were established in almost every district on the Islands, and the great *mass* of the people, (adults,) began to *read* in their own language. It is true, they did not read very fluently, nor had they much in their language then to read. But a great many learned to read, and in some measure understood what they read. It will be remembered, that at that time, and for several years afterwards, no children were in the schools. The schools were composed entirely of adults, chiefs and people, men and women. Many who had passed the middle age of life, were proud to stand up in classes, and read their *palapalas*. The *masses* read, and continued to learn to read, as fast as the missionaries could get out books for them. The first book was a little Spelling-book ; then followed "Thoughts of the Chiefs." The chiefs had not only learned to read, but to write their own thoughts. The Sermon on the Mount followed ; then the History of Joseph ; then a Sequel to the Spelling-book, a small Arithmetic, etc. As before, it is not pretended that the adult Hawaiians, as a general thing, became good or fluent readers ; but they did read, were anxious to get books, and got ideas from reading.

Again, simultaneously with reading, the people learned *to write*, just as far as they could get the apparatus ; i. e., pen, or pencil and paper, (the ink they manufactured, or got from the cuttle fish,) or slates and pencils. My first

efforts to understand the Hawaiian language, in 1828, consisted in reading and examining manuscripts written by Hawaiians. Letter-writing, even at that time, was considerably practiced, and would have been much more, but for want of materials. It was often said, and I never heard it disputed, that every Hawaiian who could procure a slate, knew how to write. They did not write a beautiful clerk's hand, but they wrote that which was legible, and was of vast importance to them in conveying intelligence from one to another, and from island to island. Missionaries had a good opportunity to know, for in those days they acted as postmasters. This correspondence among themselves, has been kept up to this day, as the present Post Office Department will show.

In February, 1834, a Hawaiian weekly periodical (*Lama Hawaii*) of four quarto pages, was commenced at Lahainaluna, one condition of which was, that one full page of each number was reserved for the original thoughts of Hawaiians; and they filled it with respectable newspaper matter. And a Hawaiian periodical, of some kind, has been kept up from that time to the present, no inconsiderable portion of which has been furnished by Hawaiians themselves. Here, then, are readers and writers to no small extent. And here, to show the value I put upon instruction in Hawaiian, allow me to say, that the sources from which I formed the Hawaiian Grammar, and am now [1860] writing a Hawaiian Dictionary, are the letters, essays, compositions, etc., all manuscripts, besides thousands of printed pages, the matter of which was originally written by Hawaiians themselves. For authority in all cases, (except the Hawaiian Bible, which in some sense is a Hawaiian book,) I have drawn from

Hawaiian manuscripts, or from printed pages written by Hawaiians. The ability to have done this, i. e., to have written so much, I consider of immense value to the individuals themselves, and to the nation.

Another thing taught and learned, and in a good degree understood, in native schools, is *Arithmetic*; and is of just the same value to Hawaiians, so far as mental improvement is concerned, as Arithmetic is in any other language. All questions in Arithmetic can just as well be solved, and the answers given, in Hawaiian, as in English, and with the same degree of certainty. This has been done in thousands of cases, as all intelligent persons, both foreign and Hawaiian, know. And the treatises that have been prepared and printed and studied, are not mere *first books* for children; but such as are studied in common and higher schools in the United States, and in England. I know not what the present text-books are, but I know that when I left the Seminary at Lahainaluna, seventeen years ago, common Arithmetic was studied, and as well understood, as in schools generally of that class. I know, too, that Arithmetic has the effect of improving, enlarging, and strengthening a Hawaiian mind, as it has the mind of a person speaking another language.

Again, in the higher schools of Lahainaluna, Hilo, and Waioli, neither teachers nor scholars have stopped at Arithmetic, but have gone a step further, into *Algebra*. And any one, by examination, may be assured that the Hawaiian language is capable not only of expressing the terms of that science, but that Hawaiian minds are capable of understanding its principles, and solving its problems; and that the value of such instruction in Hawaiian, is of itself equal to what it would be if gained through the medium of any other language.

Again, *Surveying* has not only been theoretically taught through the medium of Hawaiian, but carried out in practice for several years past. No small part of the surveying of the Islands is now in the hands of Hawaiians, who have learned it entirely in their own language.

Geography, in former years, and perhaps now, is successfully taught in many schools; especially topographical geography. This, next to Arithmetic, has been a favorite study. The shape of the earth—its divisions of sea and land—of countries and kingdoms—their boundaries—rivers—lakes—cities—nations, etc., etc., with the solving of problems on the globes, constituted a study calculated to enlarge their minds, excite their curiosity, and probably has led some to ship as seamen, that they might see foreign countries. But it has been done, and can be done, in their own language.

As I have had but little to do with schools for the last fifteen years, I know not what *new* studies have been introduced at Lahainaluna, or Hilo, or elsewhere; but those I have mentioned, I know to have been taught with success, for I have taught them myself, after having prepared a part of the text-books. And I have good reason to believe, that the same branches are now more extensively and successfully taught, than when I was there. In my opinion, they have been of incalculable value to individuals and to the nation, and have laid such a foundation for a superstructure, as could not have been laid in any other way, in so short a time, and at so little expense.

Hitherto, I have spoken only of *intellectual* improvement, or simply the gain of knowledge. But the *moral* and *religious* instruction, which Hawaiians have gained through the medium of their own language, is, in my

opinion, of vastly greater importance. They have received it in schools, from periodicals, from tracts, from reading the Bible, and from hearing the Gospel preached from Sabbath to Sabbath. From the beginning, the Bible, as fast as it could be translated and printed, has been a text-book in morals and religion ; especially in the Protestant schools ; and that, not so much by catechism, or second-hand instruction, as by reading and questioning on the plain facts, and duties, and doctrines taught in the Scriptures. Simultaneously with teaching the people to read, they were taught, out of the Bible, the great truths relating to the character and attributes of Jehovah, as distinct from what they knew of their former gods. This was essential to the establishment of the Christian system. They learned from the Bible their relationship to God, and to one another, and the duties growing out of that relationship. They have learned, moreover, the plan of salvation, through the obedience, sufferings, and death of the Son of God. It is true, that in all ages people of very simple minds and very little mental improvement have understood enough of these truths to found their hopes upon a happy immortality. Hawaiians have done it, and continue to do it, through their own language.

Besides the Bible, they have read many other moral and religious books, as they have been prepared or translated for them ; such as Wayland's Moral Philosophy, Gallaudet's Treatise on the Soul, Baxter's Saint's Rest, etc., etc., besides the moral and religious lessons in the weekly publications. The value of this kind of instruction cannot be estimated in dollars and cents. We may see some of its effects in the morals of the people ;—the quieting of the war spirit for almost forty years,—the

general adherence to a written code of laws,—the almost entire cessation of the murderous spirit,—the adoption of the Bible Sabbath, instead of the ancient arbitrary *tabus*,—the general safety of foreign residents,—the peaceful possession of property,—the liberty of any form of religious worship, etc., etc. All this state of things is not easy to be accounted for, except by means of moral and religious instruction, conveyed to the *masses*, through their own language, and primarily in native schools. The education, therefore, which Hawaiians have received and are now receiving, in their own language, is, in my opinion, of inestimable value to them.

II. NO OTHER MEDIUM FOR GENERAL INSTRUCTION POSSIBLE.

“Would it have been possible to have educated the *masses* of natives, even in the elementary branches, in any other language than their own?”

This may be answered *a priori*, No. Since the confusion of Babel, Providence has evidently designed that the *masses* of a people speaking different languages, if they ever wake up to the importance of mental improvement, shall do it through the medium of their own vernacular tongue. This refers to the masses, rather than to individuals. History does not show any instances, in any country, or in any age or tongue, where the masses have been educated in any language but their own. By *education* I mean, where the masses have been taught the use of letters; that is, reading, writing, and other elementary branches. Latin was for several centu-

ries the language of learning and science, through Middle and Southern Europe ; but it was not the language of the masses. They continued to speak and use their vernacular tongues. And when knowledge was diffused among them, it was in their own language. The Spanish language was introduced, some two hundred years ago, into South America and Mexico, and some of the natives speak a dialect of the Spanish ; but it is not Castilian, nor are the masses educated in any language to this day. At or after the conquest of England, by William of Normandy, a strong effort was made to introduce the French language into England. By the authority of William, it became the court language, and hence there was a strong influence in its favor ; but the masses never learned it, and never used it. There are many reasons of a general nature, why it has been so, and why it is so now. But the question at present, is of a more specific character, and implies peculiar traits, either in the Hawaiian or English language, or both.

If the question be repeated, "Would it have been possible to have educated the masses of natives, even in the elementary branches, in any other language than their own ?" the answer is ready in the mouths of all who are acquainted with the facts. They would declare with one voice, No. Why ? Because it would have been a physical impossibility. The masses of the Hawaiians have no such development of the organs of speech, as that they could articulate the sounds used in pronouncing the English language. Nor can the masses acquire the ability to do it after an adult age. Their own language has comparatively few sounds, and those mostly of the simple, infantile kind. Again, the construction of their language

has but little affinity with the languages of Southern or Western Europe. With the Hawaiians, every syllable ends with a vowel sound—there are no double consonants—there are no sibilants; hence, a vast many words in English cannot be plainly articulated by them, after they have passed the age of childhood. Where this has been effected in special cases, it has been done at the expense of long labor on the part both of the scholar and teacher. It never could be done for the masses. We see this more or less among intelligent men, when they try to learn a foreign language after years of manhood. They never *speak* it (I refer to the pronunciation merely) as a vernacular tongue. Witness a German, Frenchman, or Italian trying to speak English, or an Englishman attempting to speak those languages. They may understand the theory of the language, may write it correctly, and speak it intelligibly; but they never pronounce it like a native. Yet, these languages belong to the same great family, have many sounds and constructions in common; and just so far, a facility in the acquisition that should insure perfect success. But put an uncultivated adult mind, with uncultivated organs of expression, to learning a language of a different family, with combinations of sounds utterly unlike his own, and unlike any thing he ever attempted in his early years; differing in orthography, in the principles of pronunciation, and especially in the construction of sentences, etc. It is possible that a few—one out of a thousand—may succeed so as to converse on the surface of the language; but for the masses, even after a hard effort, it must be an entire failure.

This is not mere theory. It is painful experience, as almost every missionary knows. For the first twenty-five

years of the American mission, almost every successive reinforcement of missionaries commenced their work by teaching a class in English. At first, the young men or young women (adults of course) would make rapid advances, so long as they continued to practice on the simple sounds; but, by and by, their progress—for some reason at the time unaccountable—would slacken, and continue to slacken, in spite of all the teacher could do, until both teachers and scholars would become disgusted with themselves and each other, and give up. This is the history, in few words, of a great many attempts, especially in the early years of the mission, to teach English. We can now, at this distance of time, see and state some general reasons for the failures—not all occurring, perhaps, in every experiment.

1. They could not *pronounce* English. The attempt to combine two, three, or more consonants in one syllable, so contrary to all the principles of their own language, would vex them; and at the end of a sentence or phrase, they would add, *ka-ha-ha!* *Aole hiki*, [Oh, dear! I can't do it.]

2. Great irregularities in the pronunciation of the vowels, sometimes long, sometimes short, and sometimes broad; they never knew what to call a word from the letters in it.

3. Great irregularity of orthography; that is, the letters would appear to spell one thing, and be pronounced so as mean another; then the great number of quiescent letters, both vowels and consonants.

4. They had no means of ascertaining the meaning of words, or phrases, except as the missionary told them.

5. A total want of books adapted to their circumstances, and no one to make them.

Then the idea would come up, that missionaries were

not sent here to teach English, as a specific business. They were sent here to teach the people, the masses, so far as they could get at them, in their own language, the great fundamental truths of Christianity. They were expected, like the Apostles, to address the people in their own language; and if they were not gifted with the use of tongues, as the Apostles were, they were expected to learn enough to preach to the people to whom they were sent. The missionaries then, one by one, from experience, found it better for themselves to acquire a knowledge of Hawaiian, and so work through that medium, than to attempt to teach English to a very few, and that so imperfectly as to fail in the object desired. On these Islands, therefore, as in all other countries, the masses have not learned a foreign language; but they are found to have a language of their own, sufficiently copious for practical purposes in former times, and also for teaching them their duties to God, to their country, and to one another.

III. ON TEACHING THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

“Would it be possible, even now, with all the means and appliances at command, to teach the *masses* the English language?”

I answer, No. The *masses* of any people could never learn a foreign language so as to be of any use to them. We might as well expect that a few foreigners could go into the heart of China, or Japan, and set up English schools, with a view to enlighten the masses. The English, from its heterogeneous principles, is rather a difficult language for the masses of any nation to learn; much

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more the Hawaiians. But the masses, old and young, need instruction; if not in science, they do in morals and religion, and in the usages of civilized life.

The history of the efforts made to introduce more extensively the study of English, within a few years past, into the common schools, shows, it seems to me, that there are obstacles in the way of success, which do not appear on the surface. The idea of teaching English in common schools, seems pretty in theory, but I fear it is failing in practice. Where are all the English schools, patronized by Government, and reported as flourishing, two years ago? Where are the English learners, now? Where are the teachers? Is the prospect of success as good now, as it was then? If not, what is the cause? I am not fully informed on this subject, and cannot pronounce judgment. It is a subject upon which we cannot reason *a priori*. We want numerous, well-attested facts. But here is a point, that with effort can be examined. The Oahu Charity School was commenced 26 or 27 years ago, and has been continued ever since, under a succession of faithful, competent teachers. The pupils have been mostly children and youth; the language of instruction has been English. The fathers of the children have been mostly foreigners; [a few pure white children have been educated there, and are now in good standing, and useful citizens.] The question is, what proportion of these scholars, educated in English from the beginning, are now substantial and useful citizens, and doing business in the *English* language, over and above the same number of Hawaiians, educated in their own language to the same extent, and now usefully employed and virtuous citizens? I do not know what the result of such an investigation or

comparison would be, but I do not think it would be much to the advantage of the English course.

Thus it appears to me, that it would *not be possible* to teach the *masses* the English language, even with all the means and appliances at the command of the nation.

* * * * *

If English is taught to any advantage, many years must be spent,—much expense incurred,—qualified teachers must be employed,—the scholars must be kept learners, and there must be a watchful eye on the working of the whole system. This can be done only to a limited extent, even with all the school funds. But instruction ought to be urged forward as fast as possible everywhere. And instruction in their own language is the most natural, the easiest, the cheapest, the quickest, and hitherto it has been the most efficient. All that is done, therefore, in the department of English by the Government, should, in the main, be drawn from some extra source. At all public institutions, English may be taught as a branch, and the expense may come out of the funds of that school; but for the Government to set up English schools, to the neglect of educating its own people in their own language, would, in my opinion, be a suicidal act.

ADDRESS TO DR. ANDERSON.

THE MEMBERS OF THE HAWAIIAN EVANGELICAL ASSOCIATION to the Rev.
R. ANDERSON, D. D., Foreign Secretary of the American Board of
Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

Honored and dearly beloved Brother :

With no ordinary pleasure, and with no vain compliment, we assure you of the profound satisfaction we have enjoyed in your visit to these shores.

We had long desired such a visit, but had not expected to realize it. God, in his wise counsels, prepared the way for you to come to us. He has kindly watched over you, and your excellent wife and daughter, while on your way hither, and during all your sojournings in these Isles. You have visited most of the islands and stations of our group, and we have joyfully welcomed you to our homes and our hearts. You have seen something of our fields and of our labors. You have addressed our churches and congregations, and mingled with the multitudes of our people. You have felt the warm grasp, and heard the heartfelt, expressive *aloha* of ten thousand Hawaiians ; and they will ever remember you as a beloved and venerated father, and your most faithful companion as a precious mother in Israel. Your eyes have witnessed the marvel-

ous work of God in this land, and your ears have heard the songs of ransomed Hawaiians.

We have held endearing communion with you in consultations, in social intercourse, and at our domestic altars. And we have met you, from day to day, in our sessions, and have enjoyed your wise and timely counsels in our deliberations. Questions of a difficult and delicate character, involving great interests, have come before us, and your wisdom and experience have helped us to solve them ; so that, in almost all things, we have, through the grace of God, come to harmonious conclusions. In the discussion of principles and of measures, and in the re-organization of our plans for the firmer establishment and the more perfect development of Christ's kingdom around us, your presence and suggestions have been of invaluable service to us.

For all this we thank the Lord, and we feel assured, that you were led to this vineyard at the right time, and by Infinite Wisdom and Love.

And now, as you and yours are about to leave us, to return to your native land, there to resume your arduous and responsible labors, we bid you a heartfelt farewell. Our best and holiest sympathies are with you. Our prayers shall ever follow you. With our wives and children, and with all the friends of Zion in this land, we repeat our earnest ALOHA ; and offer our ardent supplications, that the God of Abraham may still guide you, that the wings of Emmanuel may cover you, and that your life may long be spared to labor in the great vineyard of our Lord.

We may meet no more on earth. God grant that we may all meet on the heavenly hills, and from those heights of glory, review the way in which He has led us,

and with songs and joy survey the field of our toils and conflicts, ascribing thanksgiving, honor and dominion, to Him who gives us the victory, through our Lord Jesus Christ.

With our highest Christian esteem, and our warmest desires for the welfare of yourself and family, we again say, *farewell*.

On behalf of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association.

T. COAN, *Committee*.

Honolulu, July 1, 1863.

DR. ANDERSON'S ADDRESS

TO THE CHILDREN OF THE MISSIONARIES.

My Young Friends:—In the discussions of the Prudential Committee which led to my being sent to these Islands, it appeared that only four of the missionaries here are under fifty years of age, and that seven of them are more than three-score. In view of this fact, I was instructed to inquire into the expediency of sending three or four able young men from the United States to occupy the important centres, as they shall be left vacant by the fathers. This was virtually an inquiry, whether there is that amount of intelligence and missionary spirit among the children of the missionaries, which would render such a step unnecessary.

The proposal made to the missionary fathers in the year 1848, that they all remain at the Islands with their families, and take the houses, lands and herds then held by

the Board, was based on the supposition that, should they do so, it would not be necessary to send out new missionaries, because their children might be depended on for future exigencies. In the deliberations, fourteen years later, a doubt was expressed whether it were not wiser for a portion of the parents to have gone home, with their families, and their places to have been filled with young missionaries from the United States. This doubt was founded mainly on two facts, well known to close observers of mankind ; namely, the backwardness of parents to realize that their sons of twenty-five years of age have attained to manhood ; and the backwardness of sons practically to realize the same thing, in deliberative meetings where they are outnumbered by the fathers. It is proper to say, that I have myself had somewhat of this apprehension, since coming to the Islands, and during the meeting now in progress. However, the fathers, on my raising the question, have promptly declared their belief, that their sons will be fully able and disposed to meet the demand for men of foreign origin, growing out of their own withdrawal from the field.

I have come, with their cheerful concurrence, and in their presence, to ask whether you, their children, *will ratify their decision.*

The question is one of great importance. It seems to me in no small degree to involve the results of your fathers' labors for the forty years past, and of very much that is precious in this young nation ; and of much too that is needful to make these Islands a comfortable home for you and yours.

It is no longer a question with me, whether the American Board, under present circumstances, shall send additional

missionaries to these Islands. We cannot well do that. The work is too far advanced for sending out men on the missionary principle. The nature of the field is changed. Young men will not be willing to come without knowing definitely what post they are to occupy; and the vacancies which occur cannot be kept open long enough for them to be enlisted, sent out, and become prepared in the native language. God therefore declares in his providence, that the work to be done devolves on the sons and daughters of the missionaries.

And it is a work, my young friends, that will soon be upon you in all its weight and magnitude. Your parents will not be able much longer to sustain the burden. Before the man of twenty years has attained the age of thirty, he will find himself in the midst of these grave responsibilities.

You are sufficient in *numbers*. A tabular view, furnished me by one of you, is accurate enough for my purpose. According to this, the male and female children of missionaries now at the Islands, over eight years of age, are one hundred and fifty. The number on the Islands from eight to eighteen, is fifty-seven. The young men, speaking the Hawaiian language with some fluency, here and in the United States, are forty-two.

Nor can there be any doubt as to the sufficiency of your *intelligence*. It is not even necessary that many of you should go to the United States, in order to supplement the education you may obtain here.

I have had some apprehension in respect to the *missionary spirit* among you,—I mean, in its application to the native population. I thought I saw,—as the result of the very natural anxiety and care of your parents, years ago,

to prevent your learning the native language, even to keep you from hearing or speaking a word of it, lest your morals should suffer,—that you showed a sort of aversion to the people themselves, a shrinking from personal contact with them, a want of that sympathy with them which is essential to successful labors for their spiritual good. But my apprehensions on this score have been gradually subsiding, as I became acquainted with you, and I now expect a response from you that will assure my hopes.

My young friends, I can hardly regard myself as otherwise than *God's messenger to you*. I come to ask, whether you will sustain and carry forward the work, that brought your fathers and mothers to these Islands. They came to bring the gospel to the *native race*. That was their work, and they have done it. That race has been Christianized, but needs a large amount of labor before its Christian institutions can stand without foreign assistance. These Christianized people are now in a *transition* state,—passing over from a government by individual missionaries, to a government by ecclesiastical bodies to which they themselves belong—to self-government. There is enough of revolution in such transitions to call for solicitude; and the fathers have wisely resolved to make a beginning now, while there is a prospect of their own presiding influence for some years to come. But there is not now time for *them* to complete the work, and the men who shall succeed them will be sure to find much of it on hand.

Nor will it devolve alone on those of you who enter the sacred ministry. Those who are merchants at Honolulu, or planters and graziers in the interior, or lawyers, physicians, civilians, teachers, will all have a responsibility and agency. And it is desirable you should be

found in all the lawful professions and occupations. You will be needed in every department. Should you not all find scope on these Islands, the like thing may be affirmed of young men in New England. You will be under no greater uncertainty than they ; and while they have the Great West for an ultimate resort, you will have the United States. But your *first* duty will be *here*,—to your native land ; that you may complete the great work begun and successfully prosecuted by your fathers. The wilderness of forty years has been traversed, the land of promise is before you, and the Lord calls upon you to go up and possess it.

I have heard remarks, as if the native population were fast passing away ; as if foreigners were soon to occupy the land, and become the nation, displacing the Hawaiian language ; and as if your chief concern would be with them, rather than the Hawaiian people. I have given attention to this matter in my tour through the Islands, and doubt not that you and your generation of natives will both pass, before such a result is reached. The argument proves too much. If *you* ought not to give yourselves to the natives, then ought your honored *parents* to have gone elsewhere. I will only say, that *you* will best subserve the religious future of this nation by laying deep the foundations of the gospel in the native mind and heart.

This, then, my young friends, is my appeal to you ; that you regard it as your great calling *to look after this Christianized native people*. I entreat you,

1. To realize, that *your* calling of God is to complete the work, which your fathers cannot expect to live long enough to finish.

2. To cultivate a fellow-feeling with the native people. Do not look down upon them. Do not despise them. Do not take up evil reports against them, especially against the native ministry. The natives are prone to originate such reports, but believe none unless they are proved. The Hawaiian people are kind-hearted. I have found it easy to love them. Nowhere is there a more hearty expression, than in their word *aloha*. It is their characteristic word. If they have not words to express some of the great ideas, they certainly have a word expressing one of the sweetest, richest sentiments of the human heart,—*Love to you*—ALOHA! I have myself repeated it thousands of times, and never tired with the repetition.

3. Learn their language. It is the language of your native country; and you will find the power of using it, idiomatically and fluently, to be an invaluable acquisition. It will be your only medium to the hearts of this people. Instruct classes in the Sabbath schools; attend the native prayer meetings; hold religious meetings. You will then come to an understanding with the people. Make the principles and construction of the language your study.

4. Stand by the native pastors. They will need your countenance, encouragement, and it may be your protection, especially in rural districts. Let the people see that you respect their pastors. Let the pastors feel that you are their cordial friends.

5. Sustain the Hawaiian Board, just formed. It is intended to prosecute both foreign and domestic missions; to educate a native ministry; and to enrich the literature of the country. It is the representative both of the native and foreign population,—of the evangelical Protestant community on these Islands. It is a simple, but comprehen-

sive organization, and will need, deserve, and doubtless receive your support in all its departments of labor.

Finally, be united among yourselves,—one in feeling, one in measures. If divided, the enemy will prevail against you. United in a good cause, you have no reason for apprehension. You live under a good Government, and should be loyal subjects. Stand together in supporting your king, your constitution, and your religious liberties.

Should you assume the responsibilities I have described, I shall take pleasure in reporting the fact, on my return home, to the friends of this Mission and of these Islands, and they will hear it with joy, and will pray that the blessing of Almighty God may rest upon you.

THE RESPONSE.

After listening to Dr. Anderson's Address, the following Resolutions, proposed by Mr. Henry A. P. Carter, were unanimously adopted by the "Hawaiian Mission Children's Society," and a copy both of the Address and the Resolutions, requested for publication.

Resolved, That we have heard with heartfelt pleasure and deep feeling, the solemn truths so eloquently presented to our consideration by the Rev. Dr. Anderson ;—

That we recognize a voice of authority to us in the utterance of a voice for so many years raised in behalf of Christian Missions ;—

That we earnestly commend these remarks to the prayerful consideration of this Society, and to those about us

who, with us, feel an interest in the spread of Christ's Kingdom ; and,

That, in response to this call, we do hereby pledge ourselves, so far as we are able, to carry forward the work devolving upon us.

DR. ANDERSON'S LETTER TO THE KING.

To His Majesty, KAMEHAMEHA IV.

SIRE :

As circumstances forbid a private audience with your Majesty before my departure from the Islands, I may perhaps be permitted, in view of my peculiar relations to a very large body of the best friends and benefactors of this nation, not to leave without my most respectful *aloha* to both your Majesties.

Having labored assiduously during forty years for your people, and having, in my old age, visited the Islands for the purpose of hastening their independence of foreign aid in the maintenance of their religious institutions, I rejoice in the belief that, with the kind protection of the Government, this result is attainable. The important steps lately taken in this direction are perhaps sufficiently indicated in the printed Address, which I had the honor of sending through the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, and the receipt of which he has duly acknowledged. I am happy to inform your Majesty, that the plan there indicated has since been adopted, and is now going into effect,—with the best influence, as I cannot doubt, upon the religious welfare of your people.

My visit to these Islands has impressed me, not only

with the strength, but also with the beneficent and paternal character, of your Government. In no nation of Christendom is there greater security of person and property, or more of civil and religious liberty. As to the progress of the nation in Christian civilization, I am persuaded, and shall confidently affirm on my return home, that the history of the Christian Church and of the world affords nothing equal to it.

And now the Hawaiian Christian community is so far formed and matured, that the American Board ceases to act any longer as principal, and becomes an auxiliary ; merely affording grants in aid of the several departments of labor in building up the kingdom of Christ in these Islands, and also in the Islands of Micronesia. The needed grants we expect will diminish gradually, until they cease altogether. We shall of course rejoice when that time comes. Meanwhile we regard this Christian community, thus assuming the leadership and chief responsibility, as demonstrating the triumphant success of the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. And in this we doubt not your Majesty will rejoice with us.

Praying God to grant long life and prosperity to your Majesties, I am, with profound respect,

Your Majesty's obedient, humble servant,

R. ANDERSON,

*Foreign Secretary of the American Board
of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.*

Honolulu, July 6, 1863.

ACTION OF THE PRUDENTIAL COMMITTEE.

At a meeting of the Prudential Committee of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, on the 29th of September, subsequently to the return of Dr. Anderson, the following Minute, reported by Messrs. Child and Aiken as a sub-committee, was adopted :

Dr. Anderson having recently returned from a visit to the Sandwich Islands, which he made at the special request of the Prudential Committee, accompanied by his wife and daughter, (the two latter going at private expense,) for the purpose of ascertaining, by personal intercourse with the missionaries, the members of their churches, and the people generally to whom they had ministered, more fully than could be done in any other way, the real condition of the people, the state of the churches, and the character of their members, and witnessing on the ground the results effected among the people of the Islands by the power and Spirit of God, through the labors of the missionaries; for the further purpose of freely conferring and advising with the missionaries, and with members of the Hawaiian churches, upon the present condition and further prospects of the missionary work there, and devising such plans of future action, as should bring the native churches, as speedily as possible, in what is believed to be the natural order in such

cases, (1,) to a condition of *self-government*, and (2,) by means of the greater activity and earnestness which would be developed by this self-government, to a condition of *complete self-support*; and, also, for the purpose of determining, by such free conference with the missionaries, what may best be their future relations to the Board and its work; and Dr. Anderson having, since his return, orally and in writing, made a Report to the Committee respecting his mission and its results; and having prepared, to be submitted to the Board at its approaching meeting, a portion of his intended full Report, embracing the two following topics, to wit: (1,) *The Organization of the Civil Community*, and (2,) *The Organization of the Protestant Christian Community, at the Islands*; — the Committee deem it expedient to place upon record their matured conviction in relation to said mission of the Secretary and its results, as expressed in the following Resolutions:

1. *Resolved*, That the recent mission of Dr. Anderson to the Sandwich Islands was wise and seasonable; and that Mrs. Anderson rendered most important aid, by enabling him to obtain fuller knowledge of the real character and condition of the people, than could have been procured without the information derived from her free and intimate intercourse with the female portion of the population.

2. *Resolved*, That the course pursued by Dr. Anderson at the Islands, as reported by him, was eminently wise and successful; that his doings, and the plans adopted by the brethren at the Islands, acting with his counsel and advice, for the future prosecution of their work, are cordially approved and sanctioned; and that, for the wisdom

and success granted to the Secretary and his fellow-laborers at the Islands, thanks should be rendered to our gracious Lord, who has promised to be always with his servants, when they go forth to teach the nations.

3. *Resolved*, That while it does not appear, from the report of the plans and measures adopted, and the proceedings had during the late visit of the Secretary, that the Protestant Christian community of the Islands has attained to the position of *complete self-support*, as to its religious institutions, there is yet ample occasion for gratitude to God for his signal blessing upon this mission, since the Secretary is permitted to report, that it has attained to such a degree of capacity for *self-government*, as to render it expedient that it should now assume, not only the management of its own ecclesiastical matters and its religious charities, but the responsibility of directing the future prosecution of the work for building up the Redeemer's kingdom at the Sandwich Islands, and extending it into Micronesia.

4. *Resolved*, That the proposition made by the Protestant Christian community at the Sandwich Islands, who have organized a working Board, called "The Board of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association," to relieve the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and the American churches, from the responsibility of future oversight and direction in the work referred to in the foregoing Resolution,—upon the condition, that it may have the privilege of applying to the American Board for such grants-in-aid as it shall need in its several departments of labor, and as the Board shall be able and judge it wise to give,—is hereby accepted by this Committee upon the condition specified; it being understood, that this plan in

respect to *Micronesia*, will not go into effect until the brethren now in those Islands, who have not been heard from on the subject, have the opportunity to communicate their views to the Prudential Committee. And this Committee joyfully commits to the Board of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association the future care and direction of this evangelizing work in those Islands; and hereby concedes to that Board the right of applying for grants-in-aid, as specified in said proposition.

5. *Resolved*, That the Committee having proposed, in December last, to the former missionaries now at the Sandwich Islands, to afford them, from the funds of the American Board, such salaries as shall be needful, in addition to their several private incomes, for their comfortable support; thus relieving the native churches from any further contributions for this purpose, and removing a serious obstacle to increasing the number of native churches and pastors, and to obtaining a support for these pastors from the native community; and the missionaries having acceded to this proposition, and the amount of their respective salaries having been agreed upon by them, at the late meeting of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association at which Dr. Anderson was present,—the Committee hereby assents to the several salaries, as thus agreed upon.

6. *Resolved*, That while we would render devout thanks to our gracious Lord for what he has been pleased to do at the Sandwich Islands, and for the great success he has given to the labors of our missionaries among that once degraded people, we remember, and would remind the friends of missions, that much remains to be accomplished, and that there is now, and will long continue to be, great occasion for watchfulness and earnest prayer against im-

pending evils; and we ask of the friends of Christ every where, continued supplication for the divine blessing upon the labors of his servants in this interesting portion of the vineyard of the Lord.

7. *Resolved*, That the proceedings of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association, at its recent meeting, at which the Secretary was present, together with the Reports made to that meeting for the use of its members, and the full Report by Dr. Anderson of his late visit to the Islands, and also this Minute, be printed for the use of the Board.

ACTION OF THE BOARD.

At the Annual Meeting of the Board in Rochester, N. Y., in October, 1863, besides a verbal statement of considerable length from Dr. Anderson, there were laid before the Board his written Report, (in part,) which had been submitted to the Prudential Committee, and the nine Reports made and adopted at the recent meeting of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association, embodying the results of deliberations at the Islands; and these were referred to the committee on the Sandwich Islands and Micronesia missions, consisting of Leonard Bacon, D. D., Hon. William Strong, Rev. David Greene, Miles P. Squier, D. D., John W. Loud, Esq., S. G. Boardman, D. D., and Rev. Edmund K. Alden. This committee subsequently presented the following Resolutions, which were adopted :

1. *Resolved*, That the sending of Dr. Anderson, by the Prudential Committee, to the Sandwich Islands, for the purpose of personal intercourse with the missionaries and pastors there, and of observing the actual condition both

of the churches that have been established in that lately heathen land, and of the nation that has been lifted up from the lowest barbarism to civilization; and for the purpose of aiding, by personal conference and consultation, in the arrangement of new relations between the Board and the missionaries and churches there, seems to have been necessary, and is hereby sanctioned and approved.

2. *Resolved*, That the arrangement by which the support of native pastors and evangelists in the Sandwich Islands, and of the whole work of home evangelization there, is to devolve henceforth upon the Christian people of those Islands, while the support of the surviving missionaries, instead of being divided as heretofore, between the churches to which they minister and the Board by which they were sent forth, is to devolve upon the Board, is hereby sanctioned and approved.

3. *Resolved*, That the arrangement by which the Micronesia mission is transferred from the immediate superintendence of the Prudential Committee of this Board to that of the Board of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association, is hereby sanctioned and approved; and that the Prudential Committee are hereby authorized and instructed to aid the foreign missions of that Board by such grants of money as the exigencies of their work in Micronesia, or in Polynesia, may require, and the contributions to our treasury may justify; always requiring, from year to year, so long as such grants shall be continued, a full report of the manner in which they are expended, and of the condition and progress of those missions.

4. *Resolved*, That, in taking this additional step toward the conclusion of our work in the Sandwich Islands, we record anew our grateful and adoring sense of the marvel-

ous success, which our missionaries there have been enabled to achieve by the blessing of God, to whom be all the glory.

5. *Resolved*, That while we rejoice, with all our surviving missionaries, in the results of which we and the world are witnesses, we offer our special congratulations to the two venerable fathers of the mission, the Rev. HIRAM BINGHAM, and the Rev. ASA THURSTON, who, having been consecrated and commended to the grace of God for that work by our predecessors, forty-four years ago, are still among the living, to praise God with us and with all the saints, for this great victory of the gospel, and to say, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servants depart in peace, according to thy word, for our eyes have seen thy salvation."

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THE
AMERICAN CONFLICT

AS SEEN

FROM A EUROPEAN POINT OF VIEW.

A LECTURE,
DELIVERED AT ST. JOHNSBURY, VT., JUNE 4, 1863,

By CHARLES FAIRBANKS.

BOSTON:
PRESS OF GEO. C. RAND & AVERY, No. 3 CORNHILL.
1863.

MR. CHARLES FAIRBANKS, —

DEAR SIR: — In view of your recent return from abroad, after a somewhat protracted stay, your enlarged opportunity of learning English feeling, and your earnest effort to enlighten it while there, we take the liberty to request for publication the thoughts and illustrations upon the present American struggle which we have heard from you, in your address on the evening of June 4, 1863.

We desire to preserve and peruse them, as do many who failed to be present on that occasion; believing that a more correct sentiment, in regard to the feeling of the masses of England toward this country, in its present difficulties, will thereby be developed.

With sincere wishes for your health and happiness,

We are truly,

Your friends,

LUKE P. POLAND,

J. C. TIBBETS,

JONA. D. ABBOTT,

and others.

HON. LUKE P. POLAND, LL. D., HON. J. C. TIBBETS, HON. JONA. D. ABBOTT,
AND OTHERS, —

GENTLEMEN: — With thanks for your courteous request, I place the manuscript of my lecture at your disposal; and if the statements and views therein expressed shall contribute in any degree to a better understanding of British opinion and feeling toward our country, my object will have been attained.

I remain, gentlemen,

Your obedient servant,

CHARLES FAIRBANKS.

ST. JOHNSBURY, June 20, 1863.

LECTURE.

"In the old city of Bristol, in England, there is an interesting memento of the past, — the Leaning Tower of Temple Church. This tower has less inclination than the Leaning Tower of Pisa, in Italy; but still it leans very considerably, and presents to the passer-by a rather threatening aspect. It is possible for people to view that object in very different lights, from different stand-points, and give very conflicting accounts of it, and yet each one of them be true and honest. Seen from the elevation of Brandon Hill it presents one form: a square, substantial, perpendicular, honest tower, without a particle of inclination, — representing firmness and solidity. Seen at an angle from an elevation on St. Michael's Hill, it might be suspected of not being perfectly upright, and possibly might be mistaken, on some foggy morning, not unusual in Bristol, for an octagon, or one of very different style from that shown from the previous point of observation. From the far-off heights beyond Bedminster, still another appearance would be presented; and from the distance and position of Downend, the intervening objects might cut off the view altogether. Thus from each of these points, very different impressions would be derived from the appearance of that tower; and from one point, some might be led, from aught they could perceive from their own knowledge or sight, to doubt its existence altogether. Room is thus opened for a discrepancy of opinion, and for honest doubt, and room for faith.

"Every one of the different viewers might take notes of their observations, write learned essays upon the subject, and make contradictory statements; yet every statement might be true, and every man an honest man. A controversy might be carried on in regard to the tower, very earnest, very confident, and very foolish also; especially if they fell to abusing each other for not seeing every one everything alike."

It is my purpose at the present time, in a somewhat cursory and rambling manner, to review the American conflict from a European point of observation; and I have availed myself of these reflections of the essayist, for the purpose of establishing a position where we may rest, while I ask your patient attention to whatever statements or opinions I may have occasion to advance,

even though they may not in every instance coincide with your own preconceived ideas.

It is well known to all Americans, that since the commencement of the present war, our country has had but few friends in Europe ; that from those countries which were professedly our warmest friends but three short years ago, we have received unsparing abuse and but little sympathy. Before indulging in the indignation which this fact is calculated to arouse, let us examine very briefly our previous history and standing among the nations of the earth, and see what claim we had upon the good-will of other nations.

Some two or three centuries ago, — it is not essential here to be exact with dates, — Europe was beating and throbbing with the new lights of science, of religion, and coming liberty. The darkness of former ages was beginning to be dispelled by the light of the Lutheran Reformation. The despotic governments of the Old World, jealous of the rising power of popular education, and of the spirit of inquiry which it evoked, became more oppressive than ever in their attempts to smother the flame of liberty. Aided by the machinations of the Church of Rome, they pursued a system of persecutions, which rendered life itself irksome and insecure to all inquirers after truth.

After enduring for years the most bitter persecutions, a small band of the apostles of liberty took refuge in the New World, where they might enjoy that freedom of conscience and of action which they conceived to be the birthright of every human being. Emigration became rapid ; other colonies were soon formed ; they flourished, and in the course of time, and after a prolonged struggle, threw off the yoke of the Old World, and launched forth as a free Republic. Their declaration

of independence announced to all the world the right of every man to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Their government rested upon the broad assertion of equal political rights and immunities; and they challenged the world to admire this, the most perfect government that the sun ever shone upon! In *theory* it *was* perfect. Nothing short of divine government could be finer than for man to recognize his fellow-man as his brother, and to acknowledge his right to equal privileges and protection.

This, then, was the origin of the American people and of the American government; and this the mission which they proclaimed as especially their own. Let us now inquire in what manner and to what extent this mission has been fulfilled. Let us examine how faithfully we have followed out our programme of establishing a free nation. Let us be candid in this inquiry, admitting without extenuation whatever our worst enemies may bring against us as being manifestly inconsistent with our professions and declarations; for in this way alone can we discriminate between the well-intentioned criticisms and remonstrances of our friends in other lands, and the malignant misrepresentations of our enemies; and in this way alone can we afterward appeal to the candor of the outside world for a favorable judgment upon our present course of action.

The very first step we take then in our inquiry reveals to us an inconsistency as fundamental as the very corner-stone of our edifice. We made a declaration of freedom and of equal rights, and at the same time recognized and tolerated a system of human slavery. We opened an asylum for the down-trodden of Europe, and invited them to share with us the largest liberty; while for the benighted children of Africa we tolerated a sys-

tem of oppression, which, in point of cruelty and injustice, has scarcely been equalled in any other country on earth. By a portion of our people this was not, it is true, done willingly, but under the force of a supposed necessity. Slavery had been introduced into the colonies by Dutch and English traders, and it had become an institution too formidable to be dealt with summarily at the establishment of the Federal Union. But there is the most convincing and gratifying evidence to prove that the leading patriots of those early days were opposed to the system of slavery, and desired its overthrow.

Thus early slavery was engrafted upon our tree of Liberty,—a cancerous, deadly parasite,—which, it was hoped, would soon be smothered by the more vigorous growth of free civilization, but which, instead of yielding to the advance of civilization, itself increased and extended with alarming rapidity, until it nearly involved us in ruin; indeed, it is yet to be determined whether this ruin is not irretrievable.

We know that the South was more directly responsible for this great national crime, and that of late she has openly justified herself in it, and gloried in the shame and ruin it has entailed upon the nation. But it concerns us now to review the part which we of the North,—who now alone represent the nation called the United States—took, in encouragement of slavery, through these many years of our history.

In looking back upon that history—spread out as upon a vast political chart—we see that during the whole rise and progress of the Republic, “We have been exposed to a class of temptations, evils, and trials, to which the past furnishes no parallel. The Slave Power of America is without a parallel. It was a class of slave-

holders in a Republic, where the creation of the power rests with the people, and they an intriguing and conspiring part of that power. This Slave Power attempted to become, and did become, the governor of the government. The nation was divided into parties,—the slaveholders so nominally; but the Slave *Power* was always a unity. Whichever party came into office, this power came in with it. It adjusted itself with wonderful adroitness from the back of the retiring party to the neck of the in-coming one. It would ride the government as the Old Man of the Mountain rode the back of Sinbad the Sailor. The union of the states, with these slaveholders, was of no value, unless they could make it subserve the end of perpetuating slavery. The Constitution was nothing to them, only as they interpreted it as a guaranty of slavery. To them it was like the bond to Shylock, giving them the ‘pound of flesh,’ as they interpreted it; and the pound of flesh they would have, because it was ‘nominated in the bond.’ They were never sticklers for the Constitution on any other ground; and they even violated it in times innumerable, in their intercourse with the North. They would play fast and loose upon it, in their party policy, to perplex the councils of the North, and to *divide* that they might conquer.”

This settled purpose of the slave oligarchy was impudently proclaimed by John Randolph, of Virginia, during the debate in Congress on the Missouri question in 1820.

Said he, — “We know what we are doing. *We* of the South are *always united*, from the Ohio to Florida; and we always *can* unite; but you of the North are beginning to divide. We have conquered you once, and we can and will conquer you again. Ay, Sir, we will drive

you to the wall ; and when we have you there once more, we will keep you there, and nail you down like base money."

This is the line of policy which the Slave Power has pursued with unrelenting perseverance from the very beginning. *Our* great fault lay in losing that "reverence for liberty which was the vital principle of our Republic." The record of our gradual apostasy from the faith of the fathers, and from our declared principles, forms one of the most humiliating chapters in the world's history. The South had but to make a demand, and we were ready with subserviency to concede it. By a series of compromises, we allowed the most unjust aggressions to be made upon our free institutions. One after another of our statesmen of the last generation fell a victim to this overshadowing power. Society everywhere was more or less contaminated by its influence. The Church itself quailed in its presence, and seemed lost to all conscience in dealing with questions of great importance connected with it. "Our great Tract Society busied itself with issuing tracts against the minor vices of tobacco-chewing and dancing, but could utter not one word against the crime of breeding and selling human slaves, like cattle, for the market." Not a word could it utter against the great crime of holding in perpetual bondage four millions of human beings, whose right to freedom was as clear as our own. The whole North, with but few exceptions, seemed at last to be under the wild hallucination that the salvation of our country depended upon the utter submission of the people to the demands of the Slave Power ; and we have only to revert to those dark days of political prostitution and poltroonery, to be sickened forever of our base complicity with slavery.

What wonder that the Old World stood aghast at our apostasy? In vain could we point to our progress in education, in civilization, and in material growth. The outside world judged us by this one enormous crime; and its verdict was, that any nation, which, in the middle of the nineteenth century, can look with complacency upon the fact that one eighth part of her population is consigned to hopeless bondage, and denied the light of education and of Christianity, has no claim to rank herself among the civilized nations of the earth! This verdict might cut to the very foundation of our national pride; we might wince and writhe under the stigma which it implies, but we could not escape it. While the fact which called it out should remain, so long would the verdict remain, with all the fixedness of an eternal truth!

I have not drawn this picture for the purpose of upbraiding any particular class, or of stirring up political strife. We are, as a people, *all* more or less responsible for our connivance with slavery; and our confession should be general and hearty. But my purpose, in this brief review, has been partly to draw attention to some of the influences which have operated to our disadvantage in Europe during the past twenty-five years. On the breaking out of the war, our people were astonished to find the European mind so apathetic in quarters where we thought we had reason to expect prompt sympathy. That there should be apathy, and even hostility, among the aristocracies of the Old World, was nothing so very strange; but we could not account for the utter absence of feeling on the part of the liberal and religious middle classes, who so nearly correspond in feeling and character to the substantial portion of our

own countrymen. There were many reasons for this, an examination of which will show that this apathy, though not altogether right, was, on the whole, quite natural.

In the first place, I have reason to believe, notwithstanding the appearances to the contrary, that the abhorrence of slavery among the people of England, previous to our troubles, was genuine and sincere. They had cleared their own skirts of this great abomination, and were impatient for the time to come when America should follow their example. They remonstrated with and censured us of the North for our complicity with the South. The tone of these rebukes was sometimes dictatorial, and almost always patronizing; as is the wont of John Bull when speaking to Brother Jonathan. Englishmen are so thoroughly imbued with the belief that they are superior, as a race, to any other people, that they can hardly do otherwise than to assume a lofty tone, whenever they feel called upon to address their neighbors upon any moral or political subject; and toward America especially, since she is so young a nation, they carry themselves with the bearing of very high superiority.

A striking instance of this occurred a few months ago, when Earl Russell, as Foreign Secretary, remonstrated with our government for setting aside the writ of habeas corpus, in the arrest of political offenders. He had the bad taste to call in question the right of Mr. Lincoln, under the Constitution, to make such arrests; the *crown lawyers of England!* having failed to discover, either in the Constitution or the laws of the United States, any authority for the exercise of such power. Now, if this arrogance was characteristic of *British* diplomacy, it is gratifying to feel that Mr. Seward's reply was equally characteristic of *American* diplomacy.

His answer was, in substance, that we are quite capable of understanding our own Constitution and laws, and that the British government can hardly expect us to accept of their interpretation of them for our rule of guidance.

The remonstrances of British anti-slavery people, though needful, and in the main well-meant, were received by us with ill-favor; and our replies were such as to create the impression in England that we were unnecessarily sensitive and captious. Again, the public mind of England has been misled, during many past years, by partial and one-sided statements in regard to the state of public sentiment in the Northern States, upon the slavery question. American abolitionists, of the more radical kind, who have become embittered by non-success, and perhaps persecutions, at home, have visited Europe, and given half true and half false accounts, — false because half the truth was suppressed. *Suppressio veri, suggestio falsi.* In their severe animadversions upon the apostasy of the churches in the North, they have very unfairly and uncharitably failed to bear testimony to the healthy change that has been going on amongst our people within the past few years. Again, fugitive slaves, who have escaped from the South, and found their way to the North, where they met with cruel prejudice on account of their color, have afterward gone to England, and, before sympathizing audiences, have poured out their bitter experiences, not only of slave life, but also of the treatment they have received in our Northern towns and cities; all which was calculated to convey the impression, in the absence of contradictory proof, that the Northern States were, in their oppression of the negro, nearly as cruel as the South; and that there was no such thing among our people as a desire for the emancipation of the slave.

This explanation refers only to the honest middle classes, whose good-will we have wished to cultivate, and from whom we expected a friendly response at the outbreak of our rebellion. The *leading* anti-slavery men of Great Britain, those who had claimed to be the special champions of the slave, knew our history better; and here, if we would be just, we must draw a clear line of distinction between those who masked their hatred of America under a pretended love for the slave, and those who should and would have been our friends, if they could have been assured that we were true to the principles of freedom. We can find no language strong enough to express the indignation which we owe to such men as Lord Brougham, the Earl of Shaftesbury, the late Sir Culling Eardley, and others of the British Anti-Slavery Society, who have been querulously chiding us for the last quarter of a century for our indifference to the cause of emancipation; but who now no sooner see their recommendations in a fair way to be realized, than they turn about and throw the whole weight of their influence into the scale to thwart this glorious reform. In their eagerness to see a growing Republic torn asunder, and free institutions crushed, they turn recreant to their life-long professions, and become in fact the upholders of slavery. Their former professions — the pharisaical self complacency with which they have long claimed to be, *par excellence*, the world-wide champions of freedom — only serve to render their present defection all the more contemptible. We do right therefore to hold them up to scorn.

But while these representative men were well aware of the change of sentiment in the Northern States, they were careful to hide this knowledge, as far as possible, from the great mass of the people. At the com-

mencement of the war, the people of England were as ignorant of the questions connected with our last Presidential election, and of those questions which led to the secession of the Southern States, as the masses of our own country were of the details of Mexican politics prior to the French invasion of that Republic; and their ignorance made them easy dupes to the proslavery influence which was exerted at an early day, as if by a preconcerted plan, by the government, the aristocracy, and the press. We must bear in mind then that the greater portion of the middle classes of England were sincerely possessed of the idea that the moral sentiment of our Northern people, on the slavery question, was not much better than that of the South. They knew, indeed, that we did not hold slaves; but they knew, nevertheless, that we did tolerate slavery in the District of Columbia; and that this of itself constituted us, in principle, a nation of slaveholders. They knew also that we had discouraged in every way the agitation of negro emancipation, and had shown no quarter to conscientious abolitionists; and as yet they had learned of no change on these points.

I should not fully account for the want of sympathy in England toward America, if I failed to allude to the unfavorable impression produced by many American travellers who have proved themselves our very unworthy representatives, in a social point of view. Unfortunately, those Americans who have created the greatest sensation in Europe are, for the most part, loud-mouthed Southerners, or Western men, or *parvenu* city traders, who have grown suddenly rich, — without education or refinement themselves, or the capacity of appreciating these acquirements in others; and the sin of modesty cannot be laid to their charge. Their first

and great passion is to bring themselves into the notice of the titled aristocracy, among whom they render themselves exceedingly offensive, either by sycophancy or pretension. Among the middle and lower classes, they become still more offensive by their vulgar swagger, bravado, and profanity. It may be here remarked that, whatever other vices may be charged against England, profane swearing, except in the lowest stratum of society, is not an English vice. Not that Englishmen abstain from it chiefly because of its sinfulness, but because they regard it as a low habit. They consider that profane oaths, like onions, are fit only for the mouths of the vulgar. Now, one such man as I have mentioned will bring more contempt upon us than a host of better men can overcome in a long time.

Another impression has prevailed among the people of England, which has created a feeling of resentment against us. It is, that in all the questions of difference between the two nations, within the last few years, American diplomacy has secured undue advantage over the British government, through yankee bluster and threats of war. They say that we never tire of boasting, in our annual Fourth-of-July effervescence, that we have "whipped" them twice, and that we stand ready to do it again, whenever the chance again occurs:—in fine, that we, as a nation, are forever "Yankee-doodling;" and, as a matter of course, nothing would please them more than to see some of the (what they call) "bounce" taken out of us.

We have made one great mistake in supposing that any considerable proportion of Englishmen have a leaning toward republicanism. When I first visited Europe, in 1848, England was just recovering from the fright of a threatened revolution, through the agitation of Irish

and English chartists; and in the September of that year, the respectable classes were congratulating themselves that they had passed through an unpleasant crisis. From England I went to France, where I remained through the exciting campaign which resulted in the election of Louis Napoleon to the presidency of the French Republic. The revolution there was over, and although republicanism had triumphed in name, and the Bourbon dynasty had been overthrown, reaction had already set in, and the people were longing for some settled, substantial government. Passing on to Italy, we found the republicans occupying the place of the Pope; but the influential part of the population were mourning over the unsettled state of the country, and were willing to welcome His Despotic Holiness back again, if for no other reason, that confidence might be restored, and their daily life might move on as before. In 1852-3, I spent another year in Europe,—for the most part in France. During the intervening four years between my first and second visits, the reaction had become complete. England was cured entirely of so-called “republican radicalism.” France, in 1853, cheered as loudly for the Empire, as it had done for the Republic four years previously; and republicanism in Italy was utterly dead. In this third visit,—two years of which I spent in England,—I have not met with any Britons who do not prefer their own form of government to any other. It is as much their pride and boast as is their nationality. Many have a desire indeed to bring about reforms,—such as the extension of the franchise and the introduction of the ballot;—but they have unbounded confidence in a limited monarchy; and the great majority of the middle classes believe that the present order of nobility confers upon the nation a sta-

bility and dignity which are essential to their national well-being. Of course, then, they have no partiality for our form of government; and many even of those who are far removed from aristocratic connection, and who might be supposed to favor more liberal institutions, look upon American republicanism with much distrust.

When we take into view, therefore, the several facts I have enumerated, — the ignorance* and misapprehensions existing in the minds of the masses of England touching whatever is good in us, on the one hand, and on the other, the knowledge which they *do* possess concerning our shortcomings and faults, — is it wonderful that they should have failed to respond in sympathy to the uprising of the North after the bombardment of Fort Sumter? Might we not also have expected just such apathy from England on the still broader ground of human nature? Just reverse our respective positions, and see what *we* should have done under similar circumstances. Suppose that Ireland had seen fit, at any time within the last twenty-five years, to secede from England. Is there a single person here present who would not have rejoiced at Ireland's success? Should we not rejoice to see England's power weakened in any and every possible way? This is human nature. I do not say it is right; but it is natural. It is so always with rival nations, with rival traders, with rival neighbors.

Between England and America there is no political affinity. While the one is a Monarchy and the other a Democracy, there must be antagonism, fundamental and irreconcilable. The only friendship that has ever existed between the two nations has been based upon self-interest, — upon those reciprocal advantages which arise from commercial transactions; and this kind of

friendship showed its hollowness, and was sure to do so, so soon as one party or the other was overtaken by misfortune. Had England been rent in twain by civil discord, and her strength and pride humbled, America would have been elated. I must be pardoned, therefore, for expressing the opinion that the North made a sad exhibition of herself in her wailing cry for sympathy from a people whom we have so often and so cheerfully offered to *thrash*, and towards whom we have never borne much love. It was, moreover, unmanly for a great nation like ours to go begging anywhere for pity and sympathy. Pity is for the weak and the helpless; and nothing was so sure to bring contempt upon our country as this pitiable cry for the world's sympathy. Take the case of an individual. We scarcely know of a more contemptible sight than that of a man who, overtaken by worldly misfortune, or ill health, or the world's neglect or abuse, goes wandering about with a perpetual grievance, and ever ready to pour it into the ear of any listener. He has given himself up to the demoralizing snare of self-pity; and there is but little hope for him. A man thus tempted must resist this fatal snare. If for a time he is thrown *hors du combat* in life's great battle, let him endure in silence; let him not lose faith in himself, nor in mankind, nor in God; let him wait in patience, and hopefully bide his time. And this is equally the duty of a nation when overtaken by calamity.

Down to the time of which we are speaking, nothing had been presented to the minds of middle-class Englishmen which was calculated to enlist their sympathies in our behalf; but, on the contrary, what they *had* heard was directly calculated to excite their honest indignation against us. Let me not be misunderstood here as

attempting to excuse or palliate English abuse of our country and of our cause; of that I shall have occasion to speak very shortly; but for the present we have to explain why the honest portion of the British public could see nothing in our cause, from the information they possessed, to enlist their feelings in our favor. The only thing that could do this was wanting; and that was, *the assurance that the North was fighting for the overthrow of slavery.* That this formed the principal gulf that separated them from us, subsequent events have most abundantly proved.

Before proceeding to speak of the means resorted to to poison the public mind of England with secession doctrines, it may be appropriate to again allude to the extreme ignorance that exists in that country in reference to American affairs; which may account, in a great measure, for their readiness to believe whatever may be said to our prejudice.

Some rather amusing instances of this ignorance came under my own observation, most of which related to American localities; but there were others also which had reference to our civil and political affairs.

A few weeks ago, while in London, I was turning over the leaves of a ponderous volume entitled "*Gallery of Nature, Illustrative of the Wonders of Astronomy, Physical Geography, and Geology. By the Rev. Thomas Milner, A. M., F. R. G. S., Author of 'Astronomy and Scripture,' &c., &c.,*"—when my eye chanced to fall upon the following piece of information which was quite new to me, as it may possibly be also to you. It was a description of the well-known land-slide in the Notch of the White Mountains, by which the Willey family was destroyed. The account ran thus (the italics are mine): "A sudden and extensive land-slip occurred in the year

1826, in the White Mountains, *the name of that part of the Alleghanies which lies in New Hampshire*, one of the United States."

Among a certain class of the English with whom we came in contact, there was some curiosity to learn what they could concerning our personal affairs. They had too much good sense to address their inquiries directly to us; but our Irish maid-servant, who accompanied us from America, was frequently called into requisition to answer inquiries. At the town of Ventnor, on the Isle of Wight, our worthy landlady inquired one day of Mary if we were real natives of America (meaning the aborigines). The answer was as prompt as Irish wit could make it, "Yes; they are some of the ra-al natives." "But," said the landlady, "I thought that the native Americans were copper-colored; but your people are of very fair complexion." The answer was still the same: "I assure you they are ra-al natives."

An intelligent Englishman in London, of whom I was about to take leave, on my departure for America (this was in March), remarked,—"I suppose you will not reach New York till past mid-summer,—the voyage will be some three or four months long." On my telling him that it was only ten or twelve days, he expressed surprise; but soon explained that he had confounded the distance to America with that to Australia.

The English have frequently charged Americans with the corrupting of the English language; and many of them are surprised to find we can speak it at all. Several years ago, when the late Fenimore Cooper was in London, he was invited to a dinner party at Holland House. Lady Holland, by whose side he was seated at table, inquired of him where he learned to speak such good English. "At Billingsgate Fish-market," was the gruff reply.

Now, while it must be admitted that education is carried to a high point among a select few in England; and that among the educated classes there the language is more uniformly correct than among even our better classes; which may be accounted for by their exclusiveness and their high association, where habitual care is observed, — yet I believe that the masses of England fall far below us in general education; and, so far as the lower orders are concerned, we have no such murdering of the “Queen’s English” as is practised in the mother country. Like Cynthia Ann’s German lover, they know how to “*speek bad inglish perfickly*.”

It is this want of general information, and this narrowness of education, which render the masses of that country so stubborn in their prejudices, while at the same time they are very easily confirmed in their previously formed opinions by the most transparent humbuggery. It was this that rendered them an early and an easy prey to the secessionists and their sympathizers. Long before we had any suspicions of the designs of the South, the Southern conspirators saw the importance of moulding the public opinion of Europe to their purposes. Our foreign ambassadors and consuls, during the last two administrations, were many of them at work at their treasonable plot, preparing the ruling classes in Europe for the event which has since taken place; and, as may be supposed, these gave them their ready encouragement. Not out of any regard for the Southerners themselves, but because they saw in this scheme the destruction not only of a dangerous growing rival, but also of a hated Republic.

The South found a powerful auxiliary in the venal press of Europe, — more especially of England, — which was subsidized at an early day and brought into the

service of the confederacy. At the head of this list stood the notorious *London Times*; — a journal quite as unprincipled as our own “Satanic” *New York Herald*, but conducted with far more intellectual ability. It is owned in great part by the Jew bankers, the Rothschilds; but its chief manager and editor is one John Walter, — member of Parliament, and formerly a Jamaica barrister and slaveholder, at the present time in thorough sympathy with the slave-owners of the South, and ambitious of aristocratic connection in England. The *Times* — otherwise called the *Thunderer* — has for many years made its influence felt by its powerful invectives, and its slashing onslaughts upon everybody and every party and every cause. It systematically ridicules and opposes everything good, and is doing the work of the devil continually. It was a labor of love, therefore, for the *Times* to effect the dismemberment of our Union, and to work for the establishment of a Slave Empire in the South. To this end it has worked and is working with fiendish determination. No Englishman will admit for a moment that that journal represents British opinion. They all repudiate it as their organ, just as we repudiate the *New York Herald* as our national mouth-piece; but still the *Times* is read by all the influential classes, and is feared, and courted, and believed in, by turns, as an all-powerful oracle.

The South, by beginning early and working assiduously, succeeded in winning the sympathy of England, and in prejudicing the popular mind against the North. It is not likely that this prejudice would have taken the form of active hostility unless some overt provocation had been given by us. This unfortunately occurred in the autumn of 1861, in the seizure of Mason and Sli-dell from the British Steamer “Trent.” It was just the

very thing to bring to a climax this latent ill-will. There could have been no act planned which was so well calculated to touch the British pride in a tender spot as this desecration of their flag upon the high seas. England had been guilty of similar outrages in seizing men from American vessels; and, fifty years ago, we went to war with her, in part to avenge this very wrong; yet at the end of that war this question was left unsettled, and England did not relinquish her assumed right to seize men from our ships at her pleasure. But those events took place half a century ago, and not one in ten thousand of the present generation of Englishmen ever heard of those British outrages, which once stung to the quick the pride of our nation; or even if they had, it would have made no difference. They have been schooled to believe that they are supreme upon the ocean; that *their* "might makes right," and that their flag must be respected on the seas wherever it floats. This was a case, then, which must not pass without redress. They were quick to believe, for they were taught it, that this was an intended insult, springing from the fillibustering spirit of the Yankee nation; that our government sanctioned it, and perhaps was only too eager for a war with England, as the least humiliating means of escape from the embarrassing war with the South.

Lord Palmerston, whose administration was just then at a low ebb, was equally quick to see the advantage of making political capital out of the popular indignation, and immediately set to work with a great display of energy, in preparation for war. The key-note was sounded. The *Times* and other secession newspapers eagerly caught it up, and commenced anew their savage abuse of our people and government. They reported

from day to day with theatrical flourish the active preparations going on in the War and Navy Departments for avenging the outrage. It was announced that a peremptory demand had been sent to Washington for the immediate surrender of the Southern commissioners, and that if this was refused, war would be declared at once. Punch, the comic paper, came out with a caricature representing Brother Jonathan in a very humiliating posture, eating "humble pie." This coarse joke was relished hugely by beef-eating John Bull. It required no strain upon the imagination to comprehend its pith, and was therefore exactly adapted to the literal matter-of-fact English mind. The English mind has many excellent traits; but according to the confession of English writers themselves, it is amazingly deficient in both fancy and imagination. It is literal sometimes even to stolidity. Hence an Englishman is often either an easy victim to credulity or an intense doubter; he either believes or disbelieves with all his might; and the habit of his life, therefore, is yea, yea, or nay, nay.

What shall be thought of the claims of any man to the exalted title of poet, whose imagination cannot compass the meaning of the veriest bit of Munchausenism? Some wag of a New York correspondent, in writing to a London newspaper a few months ago, perpetrated the statement that the American government had just imported from France one hundred and fifty *guillotines*, with which to cut off the heads of captured rebels! This brilliant little *canard* soon came to the notice of that "Proverbial Philosopher," — Martin Farquhar Tupper, — who thereupon indited a letter to our worthy President, protesting in the name of universal humanity against a resort to such savage barbarities!! But this is a digression.

The excitement was working well. Several war-ships were speedily put in readiness for sea. The utmost expedition was used in filling them with arms and ammunition from the Tower and the Woolwich Dock Yard; and by working day and night and all day Sunday, — all of which was reported in the newspapers with demoniac glee, — they were ready to dispatch them for Canada early in the ensuing week. The popular mind was at last worked into a frenzy of excitement.

But just at this time an event took place, which cast an indescribable gloom over the whole nation. It was the brief illness and death of Prince Albert, the consort of the queen. A German prince, of liberal ideas, of irreproachable character, he had come amongst the English people twenty-one years before, a stranger and a foreigner; and by his gentle manners, and wise discretion, and remarkable abilities, had worked his way up, step by step, against the jealousies of a proud aristocracy, and the prejudices of a conceited people, until he stood upon the topmost pinnacle of popularity. It was a wonderful achievement, when you consider what he had to overcome, and what he was at the outset, — a foreigner in a strange land, a German liberal, and a Lutheran protestant, with no recognized official position except that of an adviser of the queen by virtue of the marriage tie; and even this was a disadvantage to him, inasmuch as his influence over her was looked upon with jealous distrust by every cabinet minister. Prince Albert exercised his privilege with rare discretion, and sometimes with good effect. It is asserted, with every probability of its truth, that it was through his direct influence with the queen, that the demand for the surrender of Slidell and Mason, which had been

drawn up by the cabinet with unnecessary harshness, was so modified as to offend as little as possible our national susceptibilities; and it is further stated that, almost with his dying breath, he enjoined it upon Her Majesty to sanction no measure for the commencement of hostilities against the United States, until all peaceful expedients had failed. In the death of this noble prince, America lost a true friend, and England lost a man whom she will long remember with reverence as the wise father of her future kings.

The grief for his loss was universal and sincere; and his death had the effect of staying, for the moment, the mad cry for war. The more thoughtful and the religious among the people began to be apprehensive lest the war spirit might be carried too far. They began to inquire whether it would not be wiser to wait, and learn whether or not the act of Capt. Wilkes was approved by the Washington government. The dread anticipation of a foreign war made them shrink from the responsibility of unnecessarily fanning the war-flame, and they immediately adopted measures for allaying the excitement. Meetings were called for prayer in nearly every parish, and a monster prayer-meeting was convened in Exeter Hall, which I had the fortune, or misfortune, as the case may be, to attend. Some three thousand people were assembled. Sir Culling Eardley — the President of the Evangelical Alliance — presided; and it was announced, in the printed call for the meeting, that the Earl of Shaftesbury would take part in it; but at the opening, a letter from him was read, stating that he declined to attend, lest the demonstration should be construed by the public as a censure upon the government for their course in demanding the release of the Southern commissioners. This was a

very flimsy pretext ; but as Lord Shaftesbury is connected by marriage with Lord Palmerston, — the premier, — the excuse answered very well for the innocent multitude. The truth was that both the Earl of Shaftesbury and the political leaders of the meeting were in a queer dilemma. They were the acknowledged leaders of the religious world and must stand well with it. They were also members of the order of nobility, and that order of nobility was committed, almost to a man, to the breaking down of the American Republic. Prayer against war in general was an excellent specific, but the prayers that were to be offered up to avert this threatened international war must be made with this proviso, — that they should in no wise interfere with the cherished plan of crushing Republican America. The chairman then announced that in order to avoid any implied censure of the government, and also to prevent any exciting discussion, it had been thought best that there should be no remarks made at all ; that the exercises would therefore be wholly confined to singing and prayers. The great bulk of the congregation, it was evident, had come there under a feeling of deep solemnity. They felt that a great national calamity was impending, which the Divine power alone could avert. They were fully persuaded, the majority of them, that their government had done right in demanding redress for the insult to their flag ; and, if necessary for the vindication of their national honor, they would have gone to war without hesitation. They came, therefore, — deluded though they were in their hasty and wrong assumptions, — they came there under a full sense of their responsibility as citizens and patriots, and yet humbly recognizing their dependence upon a higher power for guidance. It was impossible

not to respect this deep religious principle of the multitude, even though it was mingled with a misguided hostility against our nation.

It is not my purpose to describe this prayer-meeting. It is seldom in good taste to criticise a prayer; it never is if the spirit of the prayer be genuine. But this I may say as having a general application: that if there is any one thing in the whole province of free speech which merits and demands merciless criticism, it is the miserable attempt to hallow political government puffery by the name of Christ, and to give vent to petty national spite in a general plea for the interests of the kingdom of heaven! True piety should be respected; but cant and hypocrisy, anywhere and everywhere, deserve the severest castigation.*

I may say further, — of course in a general way, — that if there is ever a time when an Englishman is gifted with any special unction and freedom in prayer, it is when he is confessing before God the sins of America! Sunday after Sunday have I heard English clergymen pray substantially as follows: — “Deal mercifully, O Lord, with our brethren in America, for they have sinned greatly.” Again, — “O God! wilt thou speedily bring to a termination that cruel and wicked civil war which is now raging in America, and allay the fierce spirit of anger and revenge which causes brother to lift up his hand against brother in deadly strife,” &c., &c. You will perceive that no discrimination is made here between those who, in the interest of slavery, are engaged in taking the life of the nation, and those who are engaged in the Christian and patriotic work of defending it. You will perceive, also, how studied and

* An exception should here be made in favor of the Hon. and Rev. Baptist Noel, and one or two other friends of the North, who took part in this meeting.

malignant is the design of attributing to us none but the worst passions, — the passions of savages ; — while no recognition is made of those higher and holier motives by which our Christian community is actuated in the defence of our nationality and our free institutions. I have not heard from such clergymen a single petition that our rebels might be thwarted in their purpose of establishing a slave empire ; nor that they might lay down their arms, and return to their allegiance. But perhaps Englishmen would regard such a prayer as that as a violation of their principle of neutrality !

But to return : After six weeks of painful suspense, the *Trent* difficulty was solved by the receipt of Mr. Seward's reply that Mason and Slidell would be surrendered. This was nothing new to the British government, for our minister — Mr. Adams — had informally communicated this fact to Earl Russell three or four weeks before ; but in order to promote their own political interests, the British Cabinet withheld this information from the public, and vigorously pushed on their preparations for imaginary hostilities. Their military expedition to Canada, in the dead of winter, cost the lives of many officers and soldiers, and some twenty millions of dollars ; and all this for no other real purpose than to make it appear to the British people that the Americans were brought to terms solely through the energetic action of the Palmerston government. And they succeeded ; for the mass of Englishmen believe to this day that that surrender would not have been made, had it not been for the prompt measures of their government in making the demand, and in backing it up by a warlike demonstration.

This trouble was soon settled, but it gave rise to much irritation on both sides of the Atlantic. American in-

dignation was aroused by the persistent abuse of the English press; and many remonstrances appeared in the American papers against such outrageous attacks upon our government and people. The *Times* put on an air of injured innocence, and asked what *it* had done to offend the Americans. It had always been actuated by friendly motives in all it had published. It had done nothing but to offer the best of advice; and if the Americans had been wise, they would have taken its counsel all in good part, and profited by it. It was because it had a high regard for us that it had exposed our faults. The character in the old play hits off this kind of friendship with remarkable fidelity:—"I did not abuse thee, Ned; no abuse in the world, Ned,—most excellent Ned, none. I *dispraised* thee it is true; I dispraised thee that the wicked might not fall in love with thee,—in which doing, I acted the part of a careful friend!"

It would hardly be worth while, even if time would admit of it, to follow in detail the various aspects of the war as presented to a European observer during the many weary months of floundering warfare which succeeded the settlement of the Mason and Slidell question; but, if the truth must be told, there was very little that came to us over the water to inspire confidence either in the Cabinet or in the management of the army. The accounts of the enormous preparations for war, both on the land and on the sea, were indeed astounding; but, alas, how insignificant the results! Now the giant, in order to command respect, must sometimes put forth the giant's strength. If on the contrary, the lesser foe plays about him, and foils him, and catches him napping, and beards him till he is goaded on to strike, and then dodges the blow; and then,

with a back-handed stroke takes him in the rear, and tosses and tumbles him till he wearies him, and leaves him to get out of Chickahominy the best way he can, — what wonder is it that our boasting giant becomes the laughing-stock of the world? The world worships success, even though it be the success of villany; and there was something in the dashing, reckless exploits of the Southern enemy which told of military capacity; and there was, in the strict military rigor which made the South appear as a unit, something which told of a master mind in their Executive.

But if our cause suffered abroad in consequence of the incapacity and semi-treachery of our military leaders and in consequence of the seeming aimlessness of purpose of the Washington government, it suffered still more in a moral point of view by our persistent crowding out of sight the moral aspects of the struggle, — by our stubborn tardiness in accepting, on behalf of freedom, the challenge so defiantly thrown in our faces, by the South, on behalf of slavery. During the first year of the war, almost every act of our government *seemed* to show that border-state pro-slavery influence was in the ascendant; and even as late as August of last year, we had the humiliating spectacle of Mr. Lincoln announcing, in a letter to Mr. Greeley, — and which went upon the wings of the press to all parts of the world, — that he would, if he could, save the Union, either *with* or *without* slavery, as the case might be! Now this might have been a mere defining of his official obligation, — a reminder that he is simply the servant of the people, and clothed with limited powers; but, if it was a true expression of the settled purpose of the nation, or of the Northern people, it is evident that we did not deserve to succeed. Slavery was the peculiar

institution of the South. Through slavery the Southern leaders had ruled the nation for thirty years, until they became intolerant of any control, and sought to impose still further upon us by making the institution national. While they remained in the Union, we infringed upon none of their State rights; we made every concession that could be made, and some that ought never to have been made. We saw at last the danger of further concessions, and commenced, in 1856, a bold stand against the further advance of that aggressive power. They were triumphant at that election, and, as we all know, used the succeeding four years, under a corrupt government, for the incubation of their treasonable plot. In 1860, they were defeated in a fairly-contested election; and, without waiting for the incoming of the new administration, they seceded from the North, and made war upon the Federal Union. They seceded without a single grievance, except that they foresaw a limit which must come to their supreme control, and to the extension of slavery. They voluntarily threw away the protection which the Union had afforded to slavery; and all our offers of protection to their peculiar institution were scornfully rejected. The issue was fairly raised, not by us, but by them. Their challenge was — Slavery or War; no, it was Slavery *and* War, — and not only that, it was Disunion and Slavery forever! The world stood appalled at such impious audacity. Should *we*, then, after a year and a half of warfare, which had been thrust upon us against our will, — after making such immense sacrifices to rescue the nation from these wholesale robbers and murderers, lose the advantages we had already gained, and go back to the black abomination from which we were in a fair way to be delivered? Should we insist still upon

protecting the system of human slavery for the sole benefit of rebels who were ready to spit upon us and upon our guaranties?

Mr. Lincoln himself— thanks to his tardy good sense— thought better of it, on reflection. His letter to Mr. Greeley was dated the twenty-second of August of last year. Soon afterward, a deputation from the city of Chicago waited upon him for the purpose of urging upon him the policy of emancipation. He raised several objections, and indulged in some good-humored nonsense about the Pope's bull against the comet; but toward the close of his remarks he spoke more seriously, and intimated that he was giving to the question his earnest consideration; that so soon as he should become satisfied as to what was his duty, and what was the will of God, he should not hesitate to perform it. In two or three weeks after that interview, he issued the long delayed edict of emancipation.

This was the one thing needful to turn the tide of popular feeling in our favor in Europe; and it was received there with much enthusiasm by every friend of the North. A day or two after the news arrived in England, I received a congratulatory letter from the American Consul at Bristol, in which he says, "Mr. Lincoln has come at last to understand the will of God. I hope it is not too late to save our credit in heaven, as on earth."

Of course our enemies found fault with it, and sought, by every means in their power, to turn it to the disadvantage of the North. The leaders of the old British Anti-Slavery Society turned the cold shoulder upon the proclamation, and professed to see in it either a confession of our military weakness, or an attempt to stir up a servile insurrection. There was much in it for

them to condemn, and nothing to applaud. This was what we might have expected from that class of men. But, although these men proved recreant to duty and to their life-long professions, there were others who gave a hearty response to Mr. Lincoln's change of policy. A new society was formed, styled the Emancipation Society of London, for the sole purpose of giving support to the proclamation, and of diffusing correct information as to the questions, or rather the *one great* question, at issue between our North and South.

The Hon. and Rev. Baptist Noel, Rev. Newman Hall, Prof. Newman, Washington Wilks, and other men of influence amongst the masses, were the leaders in this movement; and they threw themselves very heartily into the work. Meetings were held under their auspices nearly every evening in the week during the past winter, in about every parish and ward and district of London and suburbs,—two or more speakers being detailed from the members of the society, to attend each meeting. The society also undertook the publication of speeches and lectures delivered upon the subjects connected with our struggle, some of which have been republished here.

Auxiliary societies were afterward established in Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool, Leeds, and in some of the cities of Scotland. A very important work has been accomplished by them,—a work in short, which has resulted in a complete revolution in the public sentiment of England,—at least, so far as the masses are concerned. I might detail to you many instances of the rapid process of changes which came under my personal notice; but I forbear for want of time.

Considering the influences that have been at work through the hostile press, and the still more hostile aris-

tocracy, to retard this improvement in public sentiment; and considering also the tenacity with which Englishmen hold on upon their previously-formed opinions, it is rather remarkable that this change has been so rapid and so general as it has been. It can be accounted for only in accordance with the premises asserted in the earlier part of these remarks: that the *heart* of England was true to freedom at the outbreak of our war; that the *mind* of England was early perverted by falsehood and calumny; and that all that was wanted to bring both the heart and mind of that country to a right view of our struggle, was for us of the North to set ourselves *right*, before the world, upon the great principle of universal freedom; and next to lay before the masses of England the facts concerning our controversy, by which they would be enabled to judge both the North and the South. The Emancipation Proclamation has done the former, and the Emancipation Societies of England are doing the latter.

The inquiry may naturally arise here: Of what practical advantage to us is this change of sentiment in England? It is of *great* consequence to us, engaged as we now are in the redemption of our land from the blackest crime and disgrace of the present century, that we should have even the moral support of a nation like England; but aside from this, our direct political advantage is found in the fact that the great middle classes — those who represent the moral integrity and the solid strength of that people, and who now understand the moral and political bearings of this struggle — will oppose and thwart any scheme that may be devised by their government for helping the South or injuring the North. We shall hear no more of British intervention; we shall see more vigilance

on the part of the British government to prevent the fitting out of pirates to prey upon our commerce. We shall see the British Cabinet more deferential and courteous in their dealings with our government than heretofore. These will be some of the fruits of the present healthy tone of public opinion in England,—a public opinion which cannot be trifled with, and which no ministry, however hostile to us, dare disregard.

It is due to our friends in Great Britain — many of whom have sacrificed present popularity by their defence of our cause — that their friendliness and good offices should be promptly and gratefully acknowledged by the people of the United States. We owe it to ourselves to cultivate the most cordial relations of friendship with those in foreign lands who are now taking such a deep interest in our national well-being; and it would be well for us, as well as for them, if some scheme could be devised and carried into effect, for making the two peoples of England and America better acquainted with each other's opinions and feelings. This necessity is very keenly felt by loyal Americans in Europe; and attempts have been made with partial success to set in motion some agencies for accomplishing such a desirable result.

Our English friends also have seen this want, and have invited the coöperation of friendly Americans for the attainment of these ends.

The Rev. Dr. Waddington of London — a Congregational clergyman, who visited the United States a few years ago, and who has stood firmly by the North during all our troubles — recently wrote a letter to Dr. Bacon of New Haven, in which he says, —

“I wish that some condensed and clear compendium could be furnished, to show the real progress of anti-

slavery principles in the ministers and churches of the Free States, and their decline in the religious associations of the Slave States. I once thought I would try to collect the facts for such a statement, but I cannot now command the time. We are trying to bring the American question before the Congregational Board of Ministers and 'other Denominations.' It is evident that interest is being awakened, and many who have been silent, take courage and avow their decision on the right side. But the practical question is, What are the best means for securing a better acquaintance in England with the Congregationalists and other Christian men of America? It is really amazing how little is known. I inquired of one of the secretaries of the Congregational Union (the compiler of the Congregational Year-Book), if he ever saw the *Congregationalist*? 'No.' 'Do you see the *Independent*?' He said, 'No.' But some moderate paper of the 'Dutch Reformed' is sent to him. Now, if this excellent brother is so denuded of the means of special information, what are we to expect of the general body? The people are left to such partial and imperfect communications as come by telegrams and correspondents of the secular press. We seldom see an American pastor on our platforms, and the instances are rare in which a Congregational minister from England finds his way to New England. If an obscure brother like myself receives so much kindness, what would be the generous reception of Newman Hall, Samuel Martin, Baptist Noel, John Graham, and other men of celebrity? The truth is, enlightened, free, and evangelical America needs a medium of communication with England."

It is to be hoped that these sentiments will be soon responded to, by some of our leading men.

But, however desirable it may be to secure the good-will of the people of England, or of any other nation, this does not imply that we should place our entire dependence upon that good-will for our future security. It does not imply that, when our war against the rebels is ended, we may safely settle down into a community of non-resistant lambs. Were we to do this, we should soon fall a prey to the wolves of all nations.

The warning given by Mr. Adams, our minister to England, should not be forgotten. In writing to Mr. Seward in August last, he says, "The sympathies of the higher classes of England are decidedly enlisted in the struggle, not from any particular affection for either side, *but from a longing to see the political power of the United States permanently impaired.*"

And again he writes at a later date, "The popular sentiment of Great Britain, as now developed, should be a warning to the statesmen of America, by which to regulate their action, at least for two generations." I think it must be the universal sentiment of Americans, that our army and navy should, for all future time, be in such condition as to enable us to defy the power, not only of England, but of all other hostile nations. We must never again be at the *mercy* of *any* power, whether friendly or otherwise.

If I were to sum up in a word the general opinion of Europe, in regard to the final result of our struggle, I should say that it is almost the universal belief, both among our friends and our foes, that we have undertaken an impossibility, in our attempt to reëstablish the Union; and that sooner or later we must give up the contest, and allow the South to go. But their opinion upon this point is, after all, of but little value, and of no great consequence to us, unless it should lead to interference, which it is not likely to do at present.

What concerns us far more is that we ourselves should fully comprehend, and never for a moment lose sight of, the great significance of this conflict,—its political scope, its moral importance, and the influence which every day's history of the present war is to have upon our future career. The destiny of this Republic—the destiny of this Western continent—is the greatest problem of the nineteenth century; and this destiny hangs, unquestionably, upon the result of this war. If we fail in this conflict, we shall be ground up between the upper and nether mill-stones of an insolent pro-slavery oligarchy on the one side, and the proud despotisms of Europe on the other; we shall become a hissing and a reproach among all the nations of the earth. If we succeed, we shall overthrow and exterminate the slave system of the South, which has been our curse and our shame, and shall be able to consecrate anew this vast continent to freedom and righteousness.

There is a duty, then,—a present and imperative duty,—for every citizen to perform; and that is to give all his influence, and all the encouragement in his power, for the vigorous prosecution of the war; to uphold the powers that be,—for they are of our own appointing, and we can recognize none other,—and, what is of equal if not greater importance, to keep alive the present awakened conscience of our people upon the moral aspects of the strife. There must be a merging together of diverse sentiments; there must be a softening down of political animosities; old prejudices must yield before the on-rolling of this mighty revolution; Ultra-Conservatism and Ultra-Radicalism must draw nearer together; and all the intermediate shades of political and religious opinion must be subordinated to the one great duty of the hour. We cannot expect, indeed, *absolute unanimity*

this side of the Millennium; but we can and should make the attempt to reconcile our slight differences, and work together for the common weal. This will not be so difficult, if we keep constantly in view our common danger, and remember that our strength lies in united action. Necessity requires that we should act charitably toward those who differ from us slightly on political questions; necessity calls imperatively for the exercise of patience, of good-humor, and of an enlarged philosophy. Let us bear in mind that this world is a world of compensations, — that one extreme is followed by another extreme in an opposite direction; one set of opinions is balanced by another set of opinions; and that the tendency is always toward a proper equilibrium. Things will in the end be brought round right, if we will but have patience and faith.

Even Conservatism and Radicalism are not altogether incompatible with each other, in a crisis like this. The extremes, it is true, may not be reconciled; but I trust that, for the honor of our country, incorrigible extremists are becoming more and more rare. Some Ultra-Radical has defined Conservatism, by comparing it to an obstinate wheel-horse of a coach, as being good for nothing but for the breeching, — in other words, fit for nothing but to hold back. Now, this was a very one-sided definition. There *are*, I admit, just such conservatives; but such specimens are seldom met with. If there are any now hitched to our state coach, if there are any whose only work it is to hold back and hinder, — whether their heads are made of copper or of wood, — let their breeching be cut, and let them be dropped quietly out of the state team, and be left to droop by the wayside.

But there is a *wise* Conservatism which we cannot do

without. *This*, like the *true* wheel-horse, guides and steadies the coach,—holds back in time of need, but always keeps up with the rest of the team, and does its share of pulling when “*go*” is the word. All honor, therefore, to a liberal and wise Conservatism. And, on the other hand, there may be something said in favor of Radicalism.

Every important cause needs special advocates or leaders. No great reformation was ever effected without ardent champions. Their very mission requires them to plough through long-established customs, to run contrary to deeply-rooted prejudices and predilections, and, as a matter of course, they render themselves extremely unpopular, and obnoxious to the mass of mankind. Even Divinity itself, in the person of Christ, did not escape this penalty which mankind exacts of leadership in reform. Jesus and his disciples were stigmatized by the conservative pharisees as pestilent fellows, perverting the doctrines of the fathers, and turning the world upside-down by their preaching. Grant that the leaders in reforms are almost always badly balanced characters, yet this does not necessarily, nor as a rule, destroy their influence for good. When Christ had nearly finished his mission upon earth, he was careful, above all things, to leave the interests of his church under the right leadership. *We* should naturally suppose that for this special agency the beloved John—that devout and gentle disciple, who was more like the Saviour than any other—would have been selected; but instead of him, Jesus chose the rash and impetuous Peter,—a man full of faults and failings and inconsistencies. At one time, on his being confronted by a maid-servant, we read of his flying into a fit of bluster and profanity, and denying his Master and best friend,

— proving himself for the moment a great moral coward. At another time, in presence of the Saviour, he fell into a sudden passion, and drew his sword, and went to cutting off ears. In short, he was about the last man that Conservatism, of any age, would have chosen for the delicate work of propagating a new faith, or establishing a new church. But there was something in the open, bold, and fervid mind of Peter, and in his power to sway the multitude, which commended him to the discriminating Saviour as the most suitable champion of the church; and we see how completely the divine wisdom was vindicated by the result of this choice. It was only about two weeks after Christ's ascension, that through that "pentecostal blast" of Peter's eloquence, three thousand persons were gathered into the church in a single day.

And so in the Lutheran Reformation, it was not Melancthon, — the chaste and classical scholar, the devout and refined Christian, — but the bold and daring Luther, — who feared neither priest nor pope, nor prince nor devil, but God only — it was the bold "radical" Luther, who overthrew the darkness of ages, and rescued the church from the grasp of Rome.

And thus it is with all reforms: we cannot do without leaders. So long as they labor in the right cause, and to the right end, let us overlook their crotchets and their faults, and let us all keep so close in their rear as to be able to give to their efforts a right direction. This I conceive to be the highest wisdom of conservatism.

Oh, let us hasten to return to the faith of the fathers, — to that doctrine which embodied itself in the noble enunciation "that all men are created equal" as regards natural rights; and that all are entitled to "life,

liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Let us remember the declaration of the Bible that "God has made of one blood all the nations of the earth, and by one blood redeemed them all." Let us remember that "it is not war alone with its bloody triumphs, nor commerce with its wealth, nor science with its arts, but *righteousness*, that exalteth a nation."

I believe the day of our deliverance is not far distant. Let us take counsel of Hope rather than of Doubt. The darkness of our night is beginning to be dispelled, and Hope sits smiling in the dawn of the new day.

A

DISCOURSE

ON THE

FREEDOM OF THE WILL,

BY RANSOM DUNN,

PASTOR OF THE F. W. BAPTIST CHURCH, BOSTON.

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PREFACE.

The following discourse was prepared by the request of the Boston Quarterly Meeting, and but for a request for its publication from the same source would never have gone beyond the limits of the congregation before which it was presented.

In order to save time and space, quotations have been almost entirely omitted. But although the language, style, and arrangement, and many of the ideas advanced, cannot honestly be charged upon any other; yet the writer would here once for all acknowledge himself indebted to all from whom he could derive any advantage, especially Edwards, Day, Mahan, and Tappan.

Believing that something upon this subject is greatly needed in our churches, this, with some hesitancy, is submitted as a kind of substitute for what we need, until a more able pen is employed.

That it may be of some little service to the cause of Christ, and to some few at least, of those with whom his life and interest from childhood have been identified, is the sincere desire and earnest prayer of the

Boston, March 1, 1850.

AUTHOR.

FREEDOM OF THE WILL.

“ *For unto whomsoever much is given, of him shall be much required: and to whom men have committed much, of him they will ask the more.*” Luke 12: 48.

That human obligation is precisely in proportion to human ability, is the doctrine of this text. This doctrine applied to our relations to the divine government, constitutes one of the distinguishing peculiarities, and is the occasion of the distinguishing name, of that portion of the church with which we are connected.

Three questions, however, are necessarily embraced in this subject, and perhaps were contemplated in the resolution requiring this discourse. Is the will *free*, or *necessary*, in its volitions? Is the atonement *limited* or *unlimited*, in its provisions for man? Is election to eternal life *conditional* or *unconditional*? Are all necessarily embraced in the subject of *free salvation*? The discussion of them all in one discourse would be impossible. I have therefore concluded to confine myself to the first. And the consideration, even of this topic, within the narrow limits assigned, will be attended with serious difficulties. To avoid these difficulties, technical and philosophical terms must be avoided as far as possible, and such terms, arguments, and illustrations used as will require the least possible explanation. This course is the more readily adopted in view of the fact, that a large proportion of the field from which the arguments and illustrations upon this subject are drawn, is open to all, and accessible by persons of every degree of ability. The supposition that this subject is so philosophical and metaphysical, as to be above the common mind, is altogether a mistake. Whether our volitions are free or necessary, is a question to be settled wholly by the developments of mind itself; and therefore, every individual possesses the volume from which he may read the truth, and the whole truth, upon this subject. Two positions have been taken respecting volition and the will.

Some have contended that every volition, choice, or determination, was the effect of motive, and that motive invariably sustained the relation of cause, and of *necessary cause*, to all acts of the will. And, that, in every cause the existence of the antecedent, (motive,) renders the sequent, (volition,) necessary, and *necessarily just what it is*.

Others contend that whatever relation motive may sustain to volition, it is not that of necessary cause. If motive be an antecedent, it is one from which either of two or more sequents may follow. It is also believed by this class of Metaphysicians and Theologians, that motive is not the cause

of volition, unless by motive is understood the power that determines. And that notwithstanding motive is always present in volition, yet it is the object acted upon and not the agent that moves the mind. And that man is free in this sense—that at any given time his volitions are so caused, by the causative principle in his own mind, that they might not have been, or that they might have been different from what they are.

This is the doctrine of this discourse. And in its discussion, it is my design:

I. To answer some of the objections urged against the freedom of the will.

II. Present some arguments for its support.

III. Give a brief summary of objections to the doctrine of necessity.

Let us proceed then,

I. To answer some of the objections which are brought against the position assumed in this discourse.

1. The Metaphysician affirms that everything is either *necessary* or *contingent*. If volition is not necessary, then it is contingent; and if contingent, then it occurs by mere chance; and is as liable to be in one direction as in another, regardless of all influences and motives. But every effect must have a cause; volition is an effect, and therefore must have a cause. If every thing is necessary or contingent, and if contingency implies the absence of all cause, then it follows necessarily, if volition be an effect, it must be necessary, and necessarily just as it is. This is almost the entire burden of President Day's work on the Will. In reply, it may be said; That contingency is not here properly explained. It is not used in opposition to *cause*, but in opposition to *necessity*. The question is not whether volition is uncaused, but whether the relation of motive to volition is that of *necessary cause*. To affirm that every thing contingent is without cause, is to destroy all idea of contingency. Every thing is caused but the Deity, and His existence is certainly necessary, therefore nothing, upon this hypothesis, can be contingent. If there may be events, rendered contingent by the possibility of either of two or more results from their causes, which we know is possible, then this objection is groundless.

2. But the Logician applies a part of this objection in a different manner. If every effect must have an adequate cause, and if volition be an effect, then every volition must have an antecedent. And hence all choice depends upon pre-existing motive, and the greatest motive, or, "greatest apparent good," is the cause of every particular volition. This is the sum and substance of Edwards' celebrated "Inquiry on the Will."

(1.) Here again, we have the erroneous assumption, that antecedents and causality, imply necessity. It is simply saying, that because volitions take place, (for they must be effects,) therefore they cannot be free, or contingent. It is begging, or at least overlooking, the entire question in dispute.

(2.) The affirmation, that the greatest motive invariably governs, is a mere assumption, incapable of proof. We ask, how does any one know that he is governed by the greatest motive? The answer, and the only answer possible, is, that he is thus influenced. But, how does he know that he is thus influenced? Because the greatest motive governs. And thus the assumption is the proof, and the proof the assumption, and finally they are both assumptions, incapable of any proof. This is reasoning in a circle with a short curve. It is simply saying that we know how man is influenced, because we know the nature of the cause; and we know the nature of the cause, because we know how he is influenced.

(3.) This idea of cause and effect, antecedents and sequences, as thus applied, would necessarily imply an eternal succession of antecedents, which is an absurdity. If the volition we now form is caused by a pre-existing motive, that motive must also have had a cause, and its cause must also have been produced, and thus you may proceed ad infinitum. It is saying there is a succession of periods, every one of which had a beginning, and yet one did not begin. A chain of events, every one of which must have been caused, and yet one (the first) could not have been caused. And if the objector sees fit to hang the chain upon the volition of God, he is not at all relieved. For I remark :

(4.) We are not reasoning upon this subject merely in reference to the phenomena of the human will. The objection refers to volitions and their antecedents, irrespective of the being in which such volitions take place. Now, if every volition implies an antecedent motive, in view of which the volition is formed, and formed necessarily just as it is ; then, either God wills without motive, or else he not only wills in view of motive, but is in each respective volition governed by a previously existing motive. And, therefore, this difficulty is only rendered more difficult by referring it to the Deity.

3. But the Theologian urges the foreknowledge of God as an objection to our position. What God foreknows will come to pass, must necessarily take place ; is the universal objection of all necessitarians, to moral freedom.

(1.) We know of no mode of knowledge which implies causality. The simple perception or consciousness of an act or event, is in every mind clearly distinct from the cause or power which produces it. Therefore, whatever degree of certainty may be affirmed of any event upon the ground of knowledge, its cause must be looked for somewhere else. If God knows things upon principles entirely different from any with which man is acquainted, our ignorance of the mode of such knowledge renders the objection groundless.

(2.) But if our knowledge of future events is analogous to His, divine foreknowledge can have nothing to do with causality. The Astronomer makes his calculations respecting the motions and changes of the planets for years to come, and with mathematical certainty *knows* and states his conclusions ; and yet who believes that his knowledge has any thing to do with the causality or necessity of such events ? And does any knowledge we have of the future differ from this in this respect ? It may be said, that much if not most of our knowledge of the future depends upon the knowledge of causes which render the events certain. This is true, but still every one knows that the knowledge is not the cause, nor the cause the knowledge ; but that they are perfectly distinct. Every child who knows enough to know that if he thrusts his hand into the fire, it will be burned, knows too that his knowledge of the fact is not the fire, nor the power that produces the heat. But if foreknowledge when applied to the divine character, does not mean the same as when applied to human character, then what does it mean, but *present knowledge* ?

(3.) God's foreknowledge is not of the same nature with our forecast. All knowledge is necessarily of two kinds. It is mediate or immediate, viz., we know by direct perception or consciousness, or else through the medium of an object or evidence, which lies between us and the object or fact known ; e. g., I know there is such a place as Canton ; but, do not

know it by direct perception. I know there is such a place as Boston, upon a different principle. The future or foreknowledge of the astronomer is through an intermediate object or evidence, and is inferential. He knows the event because he knows its cause. But his knowledge of the planet upon which he is now gazing does not thus depend upon previous knowledge or evidence. He knows its present position and aspect because he sees it regardless of all causes.

If God is infinite, filling all space, and eternal, filling all duration, there can be no object or evidence between him and the object or fact known.—All knowledge, therefore, with him must be *immediate* and direct. He does not know an event because something else is known, or because of the knowledge of some antecedent cause; but by direct perception. And all events, whether caused by his own power or the agency of others, are known, not in consequence of necessary cause, but simply because they occur. Things are known, not because they *must be*, but because they *are*. And in knowing our volitions, he knows them as *our* volitions; and because they are put forth, and not because they are made certain by his determinations or decrees.

Again, it should be remembered that all knowledge is present knowledge. The *fore* and *after*, which we apply to knowledge, have reference to the object of knowledge, not the knowledge. If we know of an event that occurred yesterday, we know it now. Memory brings up the event *now*, and makes it a *present knowledge*. If we possessed the power of prescience, sustaining the same relation to the future that memory does to the past, the knowledge would be present, and the one would have as little to do with the *causality* or *necessity* of events as the other. God's foreknowledge, then, although it makes it certain that an event *does* occur, no more makes it certain that such an event might not have been otherwise, than my knowledge of your presence here to day makes it certain that you could not have been elsewhere. You could have been elsewhere, and then the knowledge of your position would have been accordingly. Our actions might have been different from what they are, and God's knowledge would have been according to the facts in the case.

The idea that simple knowledge implies necessity with respect to cause, is not according to sound philosophy, common sense, nor the Bible.

II. But let us notice a few positive arguments in support of the doctrine of "free-will."

1. We will listen to the voice of consciousness. By consciousness is here understood, not the power which knows, but the recognizing of the knowledge. It is that field upon which the mind, on the one hand, and the external world, on the other, meets. We are not conscious of anything without the mind; but in perceiving objects, sensations are produced of which we are conscious. We are not conscious even of the powers of mind, as such, but these powers produce sensations of which we are conscious. This field of sensation or consciousness, then, is the ground of all our knowledge. No external object is known unless there exists such a correlation between the object and the mind as to produce sensation. And no power of mind is known except by its action, which produces sensation. It is evident, therefore, that our knowledge of the mind, and especially of the will, must be derived from this source.

If we investigate this field, I think we shall perceive that the sensations from objects without, and the mind within, clearly indicate the possibility

of our volitions, at any given time, being different from what they are.— And that it is only upon this principle that we have any idea of right and wrong in character, or of praise-worthiness or blame-worthiness, in ourselves or others.

But there are some general developments of common consciousness upon this subject.

(1.) Language comprises but signs of ideas ; and any term or form of expression, supposes the pre-existence of the idea expressed. In every language and tongue spoken, there are words and phrases, implying the freedom of the will. Thus it is said, "We ought not to have done thus," or "We ought to have determined upon a different course," viz., If necessitarianism be true, we ought not to have complied with an eternal immutable, divine law, which God himself could not have broken ; or we ought to have violated such a law. So when we express regret or astonishment that volitions in ourselves or others should have been as they are, we use language unmeaning, nonsensical, and sinful, if they were determined by the Almighty, and could not have been otherwise. The same is true of all language used in expostulation, or threatening, or even commanding.

(2.) Not only the language, but the laws of all nations, civilized or barbarous, indicate most conclusively the decision of consciousness upon this subject. Do they not all proceed upon the supposition that when a subject determines to do right, he might have determined to do wrong, and that when he determines to do wrong, he might have determined to do right.

(3.) And, does not the justification or condemnation of ourselves or others show most conclusively the position of consciousness upon this question ?

The disposition to justify and condemn seems to arise instinctively, as from a principle of our natures. Even before language is learned, the infant mind develops this disposition. And just in proportion as mind is developed, distinctions are made between the intelligent and unintelligent portions of creation, and praise or blame awarded to the former and none to the latter. Why this disposition, and why this distinction between voluntary and material agency, if all things, and all things alike, are governed by the same unalterable laws of necessity ? And why has God thus made one portion of creation to oppose and find fault with another, if the same necessity governs the action and tendency of both ?

2. Notwithstanding this is purely a psychological subject, and should be treated as such, yet there are certain necessary logical deductions arising from the two systems now under consideration, which will aid us materially in deciding upon their respective merits.

What are the necessary consequences of necessitarianism ?

If volition is necessitated, and can in no given case be different from what it is, then there can be no responsibility attending volition. If we cannot hold the knife responsible for stabbing a man, while the hand which grasps the knife and directs the blow is held by another, how can we hold the man responsible while the power which constitutes his agency is held and controlled by force beyond his agency ? We hold a man responsible for presenting motives even when they do not prevail. Where, then, does responsibility rest when in every case, *and necessarily in every case*, volition is as the motive ?—upon our actions, mere effects, or upon the actual cause of that action, the author of the motive ?

It has been said that responsibility rests upon natural, not moral ability. But Edwards himself tells us that the difference between natural and moral ability does not consist in the nature of the necessity, but simply in the terms thus related. Moral necessity referring to volitions and their cause, motives; and natural necessity, to the connection between physical causes and their effects. Natural and moral ability and inability differ then only in the same way. Natural inability, is inability to do what we will; moral inability, an inability to will. There is no difference in the necessity. The one is as fatal as the other, and implies as little responsibility. Now, either there is, or there is not any occasion for this distinction between natural and moral ability. If there is not such occasion, and if volition is necessary, then the same fatal necessity pervades alike the whole universe; and there is as much responsibility resting upon the physical as the moral world. But, if there is an occasion for such distinction, then, to base moral obligation upon natural or physical ability, is as inconsistent as to require a man naturally blind to see, because, forsooth, he could hear—or to require a man to move an arm which he never possessed, because he has a foot. If a man is not the cause of his own volitions, and in that sense possessed of moral ability, he cannot be responsible. *Moral* responsibility cannot rest upon *natural* ability.

But again, motive is unintelligent and irresponsible; and, therefore, the Author of motive is the only being in the universe who is responsible; and he is responsible for every action. But if He determines our volitions, He thus determines in view of motive. For upon the hypothesis now before us, a volition in the Eternal Mind, without an antecedent motive, would be just as impossible as in our own. Therefore there never was a divine volition without a pre-existing motive. Hence there was a time when there was no force in the universe, but the force of motive; and when there either was no God, or else no active God. If we take one horn of the dilemma, and say there was a God, but a God without volition, and consequently without activity or character, we have the Pantheist's God. If we take the other, and affirm that previous to volition there was no intelligent God, we have the God of the Atheist. In either case, the universe presents but a vast blind machine, driven by fate through the immensity of space and duration.

Attending these necessary results, there are several inferences which might be drawn; but one of which, however, can with due regard to our assigned limits, be here admitted.

If the above mentioned hypothesis and its necessary consequences be correct, then all distinctions between good and evil are hypothetical and imaginary. Both are in compliance with fixed, immutable law. Hence all distinctions between vice and virtue, and all restraints or encouragements, family, civil or religious, growing out of these distinctions, are false and vain.

But what are the deductions from the supposition that the will is self-determining? At all events, the difficulties cannot be greater, the consequences more absurd, than those which arise from the opposite system. It cannot be an absurdity, for the practice of all men, in all the common affairs of life, has been based upon this freedom, and common consciousness and spontaneous convictions have always sustained this doctrine.

Upon the supposition of its truth, man at once appears an accountable being; he himself, and no other one, being responsible for his volitions.—

He is thus rendered a fit subject of moral government. The institution of human governments, and the organization of the family, with all the voluntary relations and influences growing out of them, are thus made legitimate and reasonable. Language and the most plain decisions of consciousness, which would otherwise present the most inexplicable difficulties, are thus rendered plain and simple. The atonement, with all the means of grace, the disciplinary influences of providence, and all human efforts for the change of character, which would otherwise be but a solemn farce, at once appear necessary and consistent.

3. But the *practical influences* of the two systems must not be passed over.

It will not be assumed that all believers in necessitarianism are wicked men, nor that all believers in moral freedom are good. There are many exceptions upon both sides, and many whose character is not materially affected by any particular views entertained respecting this question. But still, it seems to me, that there are certain facts connected with this aspect of the subject, which deserve our serious consideration. And,

(1st.) Invariably, those who have denied human responsibility and accountability, have based that denial upon the doctrine of necessity. But who ever heard of an individual believing in the freedom of the will, as above explained, who denied man's accountability? Such an instance never was known.

(2d.) Almost all of the greatest errors in religion and morals, have been advocated upon the ground of moral necessity, and many of them based exclusively upon this theory.

This is the beginning and the end with the Atheist. It is the sum total of the Pantheist's scheme. And the Deist, Universalist, Fatalist and Antinomian, in defending their respective systems, are equally dependent upon the supposition, that whatever is, is so of necessity; and that therefore whatever is, is right. When we reflect, that the doctrine we are now controverting is not an incidental item in these systems, but one of the fundamental assumptions upon which their advocates all base them, and that they are not defended without this assumption, are we not forced to the conclusion that in its practical result there is a refutation of all claims to truth; unless indeed, these systems be true. But has the doctrine of freedom ever been used for any such purpose? If so, I am not aware of the fact.

(3.) And is it not an undeniable fact, that the most immoral and irreligious, are generally warm advocates of the doctrine of necessity; and especially when pressed upon moral or religious obligations. I know it is said, they only fly to this for a refuge. But this is making a great admission, namely, that the system constitutes a very convenient garb for such characters. Can a doctrine so peculiarly adapted to such a work, and so generally associated with such characters, be true, even though many of the best men of the world have believed it?

But do men ever apologize for their crimes upon the ground that they are free agents, capable of choosing a different course, and responsible for not doing so?

(4.) Another significant fact which bears upon this subject, is seen in the course pursued by the best classes of those opposed to our position.

Is it not universally known, that in their efforts for changing the hearts and characters of men—for promoting morality and religion, they leave en-

tirely out of sight their peculiar views upon this question, and address themselves to common sense and common consciousness.

Does the moralist in his efforts to reform the blasphemers or inebriate, begin with an essay upon moral necessity, and after convincing his disciples that his volitions could not have been different from what they are, and that any change in his future course depends exclusively upon motives beyond his control, and that such motives will as certainly control him as the unobstructed weight falls to the earth, proceed to urge a change of life? None labor in this way. And to pursue such a course would exhibit as little claim to sanity, as an effort to persuade the Mississippi to just roll back from its mouth over the falls of St. Anthony.

And what is the course of the pastor when laboring with an impenitent sinner, or in a season of special religious interest in his congregation? Is not the instruction and preaching at such times so emphatically "*free-will*" that the most sectarian "*Free-willer*" is perfectly satisfied?

Does not this fact go to show most conclusively, that our opponents themselves have no confidence in the practical influence of their doctrine, and especially when any great practical interest is at stake? The facts that convicted men generally urge this doctrine as an apology for impenitence, and that nine-tenths of all who fall into final religious despair, do so through its influence, and other circumstances indicating its practical influence we have not room for discussing.

4. But the belief that any such power as will is possessed by man is to my mind an evidence of its freedom.

As above remarked, we know of no powers of mind but by their action. If volition is but a necessary sequence of an antecedent correlation between intelligent sensibility and an external object, then nothing more is brought into action than intelligence and sensibility. This phenomenon is to be accounted for, by supposing the existence of these powers, but no other. As well might a man suppose that because he feels a sensation from the fingers of his hand, that therefore, he has one upon the back of his hand; or that because he has eyes, that therefore he must possess some other organs differing entirely from these, as to suppose that because he is conscious of phenomena resulting from reason and sensitivity, that therefore he has a will. I know that consciousness will here be appealed to, and we shall be told that every man knows that he has a will. This is admitted and this is the strength of the argument. Man knows he has a will. But he must know this by phenomena arising directly from such a faculty, differing from that arising from the sensibility or reason.

If volition be necessary, it is but the action of the sensibility, and can in no sense be any evidence of the existence of any other faculty.

This argument is presented with the more confidence, in view of the fact that Edwards makes no distinction between the will and sensibility. He refers to but two grand divisions of the mind; the knowing and the attractive powers. Under this last division, he classes desires, affections, volitions, and every other development of will or sensibility—and then makes volition result from relation between an object and these powers, thus tacitly admitting that his theory virtually destroys all distinct idea of the will; and makes it sensitivity, or mental attraction. If any man can show how he knows that he has a will by such sensations, let him attempt it. And if the universal belief that such a power is possessed does not result from phenomena which can result only from the freedom of the will, I know not where it could have originated!

5. But the last class of arguments to which I refer, is drawn from the Scriptures. But here it may be observed, the Bible is not given for a scientific text book, nor for a system of philosophy. Those natural common matters of fact with which we are able to become acquainted by other means, are there taken for granted.

That man has some knowledge is every where assumed. The word of God no where tells us the number or uses of the senses. Neither does it teach mental philosophy, nor directly discuss the subject now under consideration. Mental or psychological facts must be proved from the Bible just as we should prove the existence or use of the senses, or any other physical fact. We must prove the freedom of the will just as we should prove its existence. Were we to attempt either, we should inquire, What does the Bible every where assume respecting this subject? Do references to individuals and special circumstances throw any light upon it? What, respecting the question is implied in the doctrines of Christianity?

If then, we throw an eye upon the general surface of the sacred page, and look at its history and laws, its promises and threatenings, its revelations and prophecies, does not every reference to human nature or character assume the freedom of the will? Nothing is more clearly assumed than this.

And if we look at specific references to *times*, *persons*, and *events*, do we not see the same assumption? Do not all these references to times of prosperity or adversity, to individuals or nations, to events, providential or human, imply the freedom of the will?

Pharaoh, Jacob, and a few others, have been suggested as exceptions.—These subjects more properly belong to the questions respecting election and the atonement. And, therefore, without pausing to give specific explanations respecting the texts referred to, it may be said :

(1.) That these are isolated cases. Providing that unusual and even compulsory influences were in these few instances exerted, it would no more prove the general necessity of volition, than miracles prove that God can work in no other way.

(2.) These cases have nothing to do with specific purposes, or personal character. They refer to general positions, of nations or individuals, and have no more to do with the liberty or necessity of the will, than a residence in Europe or America.

But what is implied in the doctrines of the Bible. Take for instance the fall of man. How did Adam fall? He yielded to the greatest motive, "the greatest apparent good," says the Calvinist. Then, one of two things must have been true. Either there actually was more "good" connected with sin than holiness; or else his mind, as it came from God, was so constituted that it was more easily influenced in that direction than the other. Let him take which horn of the dilemma he may, the conclusion is inevitable, that God *intended*, *determined*, and *directly caused* that event, and all the guilt and misery arising therefrom. But the fall of man implies no such thing. He was free, not as the water to run down hill, but free to *choose* or *refuse* the motives presented.

And respecting the atonement. Why is it given and adapted to man, and not to other portions of creation, if all are governed by the same law of necessity? How can we account for the change which is there contemplated in man's character, circumstances and prospects, if his will is not free? Indeed, God cannot contemplate any change, by an atonement or

otherwise, in man's character or relations without a change in himself, unless man is capable of causing a change in himself. Hence the doctrines of pardon and regeneration, as well as the doctrine of atonement, implies the truth of our position. So does every doctrine of the Bible.

But we can notice but one more. Look at the judgment. What of all the warnings and appeals in view of it, what of all the solemn attending circumstances, and what of the judgment itself, if man is to be judged upon the same principle with matter? And what shall we think of the character of the judge, if he is not judged upon the same principle, if he is here governed upon the same principle? And here let it be remembered that the advocates of the doctrine of necessary volition do not claim that there is any difference between moral and physical necessity in the nature of the relation. They affirm that the necessity is precisely the same, and that the terms refer to the objects related, and not to the degree or nature of the necessity. How, if this be true, could God be just and judge the world? If man's volitions and actions, are all, invariably and necessarily, governed by motives which God himself controls, how, while sentence is pronounced against a sinner, could the angels sing, "*Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty?*" Could the inhabitants of heaven say, "*Alleluia,*" while the "wicked are driven away in their wickedness," "and the smoke of their torment ascendeth up for ever and ever." Can we force the hand of a child into the flames, and then punish him for his folly? Can the universe say, *Amen*, to the judgments of God, if he forces our volitions, by overpowering motives, and then punishes for these volitions? The judgment in every aspect most clearly implies that man's volitions are as much his own as his actions, and that he is at liberty in his volitions to such an extent, that he is not only the cause of them, but at any given time they might be different from what they are. Indeed, it seems to me impossible that any man could ever reconcile the doctrine of a judgment with the doctrine of necessity; and I do not wonder that many believers in the latter doctrine have denied the former. Having endeavored to answer some of the most prominent objections against the freedom of the will, and presented a few of the many arguments in favor of this important doctrine, let us conclude:

III. With a brief summary and repetition of our objections to the opposite system.

1. It makes God a tyrant. He requires one thing, and then, with a fatal moral necessity, impels man in an opposite direction, and then punishes him for not acting contrary to the "greatest apparent good," which is a work that *God himself, even, as our opponents affirm, cannot do.*

2. It makes God contradict himself. He commands one thing, and then with another will, (for it cannot be the same,) absolutely, by moral force, effects their violation.

3. It makes even God a being of necessity, and dependent for his being or capability of action, upon something prior to himself.

4. It makes him the author of all sin. No sin, is committed according to this theory, but in accordance with the greatest motive; *and he governs these motives.* This is especially true in the case of our first parents, and of the fallen angels. Taking the cause of their transgression out of themselves, it necessarily leaves it in God.

5. It destroys all idea of probation. What idea of trial can be attached to a class of beings who have no control over themselves, or to a state

where every action is necessarily as it is, and could not have been otherwise?

6. It destroys all human responsibility. All who deny accountability do so upon this ground; and a large proportion of those who attempt to apologize for neglect of known duty, urge the same plea.

7. It destroys all distinction between vice and virtue. The one is as necessary and undeniable, and as much in accordance with God's will, as the other.

8. It is the principal ingredient in some of the worst errors which ever cursed the earth.

9. It mystifies the gospel, rendering it contradictory; and thus produces skepticism. Who ever heard of a man turning from religious views or influences, to infidelity, without first embracing necessitarianism?

10. It frequently produces despair in anxious minds; and in this way is the cause of a total neglect of the gospel, or, what is more common, an apology for impenitence.

11. It is generally believed by the worst of men, and made an apology for their crimes.

12. It is not congenial with the spirit of reform, of revivals, and of deep piety.

Many of its advocates are reformers, revivalists, and deeply pious men. But, in their efforts for reforms and revivals, and in their most devotional exercises, *they act as though they could act*, and forget all necessity back of the will.

Brethren, we love reform. We wish to see the wicked forsake his way, and the unrighteous man his thoughts. We wish to see the inebriate restored, and the slave set at liberty. We love the spirit of revival. We wish to see the *open* gates of Zion thronged with anxious inquirers, saying "what shall we do to be saved." As we feel for these interests and sympathize with suffering humanity, and as we long for the salvation of deathless souls, let us urge the claims of God upon man's *free-will*. Standing still under the banner of Christ as unfurled by our revered fathers in the gospel, let us walk worthy of the *name* whereby we have been called; and cheerfully discharge those obligations for the neglect of which we acknowledge ourselves without excuse.

ADDRESS

OF

GOVERNOR WASHBURN

TO THE LEGISLATURE OF THE

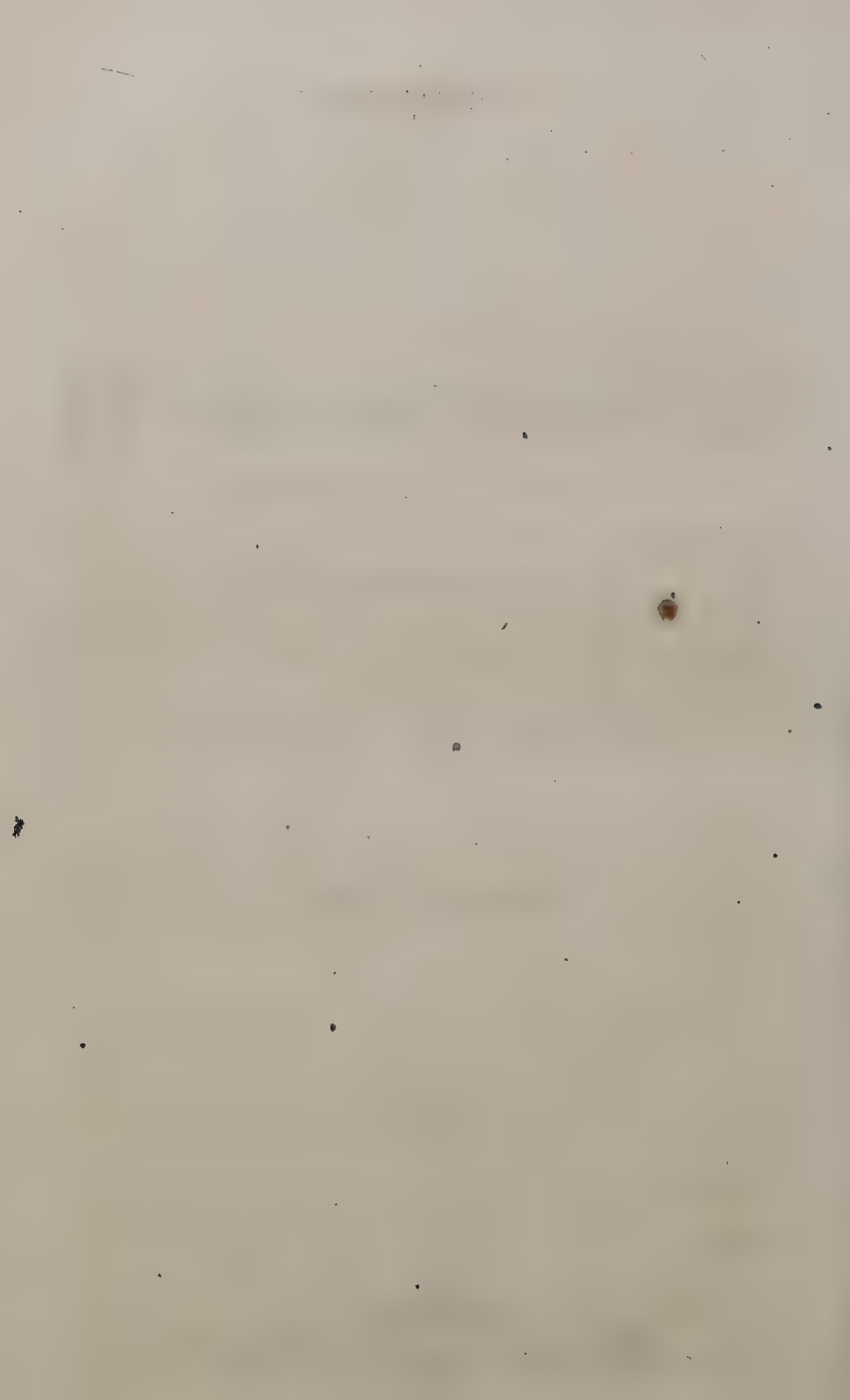
STATE OF MAINE,

January 2, 1862.

AUGUSTA:

STEVENS & SAYWARD, PRINTERS TO THE STATE.

1862.



ADDRESS.

Gentlemen of the Senate

and House of Representatives:

Among the manifold reasons for thankfulness and gratitude which accompany our farewells to the old year, and attend our salutations to the new, we shall not fail to regard those referring to the physical comforts and material prosperity which the year, that has passed away, has bestowed so liberally upon us, as of small consideration compared with the signal proofs it has furnished that, as a people, we have not been forsaken by the great Ruler of the Universe, in whose hands are the issues of nations, but that we are still the favored subjects of His care and regard.

The sharp and sudden punishment of this war, while it should assure us that our national transgressions may be forgiven, will suggest the way of duty by which the country may be saved, and made wiser, truer, and stronger than ever before.

That the delinquences of the nation for the last forty years, its practical denials of vital truths of which it had aspired to be the chosen and peculiar representative, its wanton abnegations of the plainest public duties, should go unavenged, was only credible on the hypothesis that its

destruction had been predetermined. But that it is reserved for a better fate let this chastisement, terrible as it seems, persuade us. And let us rejoice that when the hour of trial came, the public conscience, which had slept so profoundly, was awakened to quick and vigorous life, and the public virtue rose, as at one step, to the height of the great occasion that summoned it from the death-like torpor in which it had lain so long.

For the single reason that prominent slaveholding politicians discovered that ready as the people of the free States had been, for the sake of peace and friendship, to acquiesce in their demands for the security and protection of their peculiar system of labor, they were nevertheless unwilling that the Government should be wholly changed from its original character, and be administered exclusively in the interest and for the advantage of slaveholders, its destruction was determined on; and to accomplish this flagitious purpose, this war, so unprovoked and so defiant of the ideas and principles in which the Republic was founded, was commenced and is carried on. The loyal people of the United States upon whom it has been forced, will not shrink from the performance of the duties it has imposed upon them. They have resolved in their hearts, and vowed by Him who was their fathers' God, that the UNION, ONE AND INDIVISABLE, shall be preserved, cost what it may. They know its value, and they feel that the hopes of humanity, the fortunes of civilization, are hanging upon its fate.

They have considered what the discharge of duty may cost, and they feel the awfulness of the trust which has

been committed to their hands ; but in humility, yet with unquenchable faith, they have accepted the responsibilities of their decision.

Giving what they have to their country, they will ask only that the war shall be prosecuted honestly and vigorously, and with the one, true, legitimate, constitutional purpose—that the Government of Washington and his compatriots shall be sustained and perpetuated, and that the flag of beauty and empire so long “known and honored throughout the world,” as the emblem of national strength and renown, shall speak every where in the future as it has spoken in the past, those words of lofty patriotism, “LIBERTY AND UNION, NOW AND FOREVER, ONE AND INSEPARABLE” ; the Union of the American States and the Liberty of the American people ! And to this end they will expect and demand that all lawful, usual, efficient measures and policies shall be adopted which will tend to promote a speedy and successful termination of the war.

While the war is not to be carried on for the abolition of slavery but for the preservation of the Government, they will nevertheless permit no Congress, no Administration, no officers of the Army or Navy to protract it, increase the expenditure of blood and treasure which its prolongation would cost, and shake the popular confidence in a successful issue, by holding and treating property in negroes as more sacred than property of any other description. If by striking the chains from the slaves of rebels, and destroying the property claims of traitors in black men, the war may be ended sooner than it can be if such claims are treated as sacred and inviolable—and if,

thereby, millions of treasure, and thousands of the lives of our brothers, the young, the gallant and the true, the pride and hope of the country, may be saved, they will demand and insist in tones that will be heard and respected, that the chains shall fall and the war cease.

Whoever in this crisis, shall maintain, or act as if he believed, that the Union ought to be preserved if slavery in it can be protected, but that without slavery it is not worth defending, making in his heart slavery and not the Union, the great object of his regard, will not fail to be known and treated as one whom no impulses of patriotism, but only the suggestions of cowardice, restrained from the practice of treason; and the citizen who will not act in good faith for the Union and aid in prosecuting the war without conditions and compromises, or who by his complaints, fault-findings or misrepresentations, weakens the arm of the national Administration, renders most efficient aid to the rebels; and, whatever his professions, should be marked and shunned as one who makes his selfish purposes or his party views paramount to his love of country.

At the present time and under existing circumstances, a conditional Union man is an unconditional traitor. For in such an emergency as the present, true and loyal men will say, Let all else die but let the country live. When the star of peace shall return, the ordinary functions of party and party men will be revived, and the affection and confidence of a just and grateful people will be bestowed on those who in the hour of the nation's direst peril were most faithful and generous.

The sole, overruling consideration now, is not in regard to measures of administration and governmental policies, but how the Government under which such measures and policies are to be worked out, is itself to be preserved. The strength of the Government is to be tried. Its necessity and reality, its very right to exist, are the essential questions to be decided. Has it been a useful instrumentality in the progress of mankind? What is the metal and temper of the people who have grown up under its institutions? Is it worth preserving?

These questions are to be answered, either by the condemnation of democracy, and the discredit of those whose character it has formed, or by the vindication, final and complete, of its claims to be a true and appointed minister of civilization and Christianity, and by the reception of its champions, clothed in fitting raiment, and distinguished with proper ensigns, into those eternal habitations which Time has prepared for the heroic, the virtuous, and the great.

In view of the proportions which the rebellion had assumed, and of the complications with foreign nations in which, in its progress, the Government of the United States was liable to be involved, and considering the dangers to which Maine would be exposed in the event of war between the United States and any great maritime power, I felt it my duty, in the month of October last, to address a note to the Secretary of State (in response to his wise and timely circular to the Governors of the loyal sea-board and lake-coast States) inclosing a letter or memoir to the President of the United States, in which the attention of

the General Government was called to the peculiarly exposed situation of this State, and to the necessity of providing additional defences upon its coast, and indicating to some extent the character of the works which seemed to be indispensable to the protection not of this State merely but of the United States. And that this subject, so important to the State and country, should not fail to be presented in such manner as to secure the most favorable consideration, I gave it in charge of three able and eminent citizens,—the Honorable Hannibal Hamlin, Vice President of the United States, the Honorable Reuel Williams of Augusta, and John A. Poor, Esquire, of Portland,—who immediately repaired to the city of Washington, and who by their assiduous and faithful efforts succeeded it is believed in impressing upon the Government the necessity of increasing the defences of this State, and of adopting measures for their immediate construction.

The attention of Congress has been called to this most important subject by the President in a Special Message transmitting a correspondence in relation thereto which had taken place between the Secretary of State, the Secretary of War and the Executive of this State, a copy of which, together with the report of the Commissioners, will be laid before you for your consideration. Surely I cannot hesitate to advise the Legislature to urge upon the authorities of the United States a vigorous prosecution of the necessary works of national defence within this State, and to tender its ready co-operation by the grant of all the facilities within its power, including the advancement, if required, of such portion of the funds needed for

their construction, as may be within its proper ability to furnish.

Upon the coast of Maine are more deep accessible harbors, capable of being entered by ships of war of the largest class, than can be found on the entire coast line of the slaveholding States; and yet, since she became a member of the federal Union in 1820, and although she was at that time substantially destitute of fortifications, the appropriations of the federal Government for her coast protection, have been less than half the amount that was expended within ten years for the building of a Custom House in the single city of Charleston.

For more than four hundred miles this State is separated from the British Provinces of New Brunswick and Canada by merely an imaginary line. Of the deep and bitter hostility to this country of large numbers of the people of these Provinces, we have now, unhappily, the most indubitable proofs. In view of the present attitude of the British nation towards the United States, and of the feeling of the British people towards our own, the fact will not escape attention that while the defences of our State upon the seaboard have been so strangely neglected, and not a dollar has been expended for her protection on her extended interior boundary, her best means of defence by land has been taken from her by the United States, and ceded to the only power in whose possession it could be made available to her injury; nor shall we fail to be reminded of the memorable declaration of one of her most distinguished Chief Magistrates—of him who was the soul of all that is noble and chivalrous in human character, and whose

exceeding love for the State which he served so faithfully, will keep his memory forever green in the hearts of her sons—"Maine," said Enoch Lincoln, "has not been treated as she has endeavored to deserve."

How unwise was the provision of the treaty of Washington, by which the United States surrendered to Great Britain that portion of the State of Maine north of the river St. John, without the possession of which she was shut out from Canada for half the year, may now be seen not only in the fact that thereby we opened a way for the transportation in the winter of the very troops upon which, in the event of hostilities between the two nations breaking out at that season of the year, she must largely rely, whether for defence or attack, but also in the menacing spirit, encouraged by that capitulation, in which she now takes occasion to address us.

As the question of the extent and character of the works required by the exigencies of our situation, has been considered at some length in the communication which I had the honor to address to the President of the United States on the twenty-third of the last October, and which will be before you, I will not now occupy your time upon the subject farther than to suggest that the cost of the necessary fortifications at the exposed points—as Eastport, Castine, Rockland, Belfast, Wiscasset, the mouth of the Kennebec, Saco river and other places—will be largely reduced if we can find at some central eligible point, within what may be termed supporting distance, the indispensable conditions of a great and impregnable fortress, from which all needful succor, by sea or land, may be speedily forwarded.

To those who are acquainted with the position of the city of Portland, the configuration of the country surrounding it, the capacity and natural defences of its wonderful harbor, and its extensive railway connections, its admirable adaptability to the purpose I have mentioned will need no elucidation. Its natural capabilities are such that, at comparatively small expense, it may be made *absolutely impregnable*. From Eastport to Galveston, it is no venture to say, there cannot be found a place combining to anything like the same extent, the essential conditions of a grand military and naval station, such as this nation should not consent longer to dispense with.

While Portland remains undefended, no adequate protection can be afforded at any practicable expense, to Boston and New York. But make it as the plain necessity and duty of the country require, at once the Quebec and Halifax of the United States, from which the thunders of their power may be launched by sea or land, at the touch of the telegraphic wire, and a most certain and practicable means of defence will have been provided for those great commercial emporiums.

Within a very brief time after the breaking out of hostilities between this country and England—distant be the day when such an event shall happen!—Portland, with only her present means of defence, would, there can be little doubt, be in possession of the enemy. With a British fleet in her harbor and a British army on her heights, the merchants of Boston and New York will readily understand what would be the most certain consequences to their commerce, and the imminence of the danger to which their own cities would be exposed.

To perfect the defences of this State, are required, not only the military works upon her coast at which I have hinted, but also the construction of military roads—railways—for their connection with each other and with our northern boundary.

Whatever sums may be expended by Maine for her defence, and which would be for the defence of the country, will be refunded by the United States, as they will be in the nature of a loan for which the credit of the General Government will be pledged.

But were it certain that the Government of the United States could so far fail in the performance of its just obligations, as to refuse to guaranty the repayment of such moneys as might be advanced by the State for its benefit, the duty of the latter would nevertheless remain, to take care, so far as she has the power, of her own citizens, and to protect her soil from the tread of the invader. And this duty she will not neglect, whether there be immediate danger of a foreign war or not.

And although we may see no such danger, recent events admonish us that with one nation at least, it will require the utmost circumspection on our part to preserve amicable relations. While the attitude of England towards this country, since the breaking out of the rebellion, has been marked by many exhibitions of the most positive unkindness and ill will, her friendship for the rebels has been manifested by an unbroken succession of favors, valuable in themselves, but more valuable for the hopes encouraged by the ostentatious manner in which they were conferred. Indeed, such has been the force of British sympathy for

the Southern traitors, that England refused to conclude an arrangement into which she had invited the United States to enter as a party with the principal nations of Europe, in reference to privateering, for the simple and avowed reason that the Southern rebels would be embarrassed thereby in transactions which she had denounced as essentially piratical; and so express has been her unfriendliness to the United States, that she has not hesitated to discover cause of quarrel with them, even at the expense of the sudden abandonment of a principle which she had contended for during many generations, and of the adoption of a doctrine against which, when advanced by the United States, she had protested with all the emphasis of war. I confess, then, I am not free from the most serious apprehensions in regard to our future relations with England.

We have all thought till recently that war with England was scarcely in the category of possible events. That she would make a war which she must know this country would feel and history would record, was waged by her in the interests of barbarism and wrong, and destined to inflict an irreparable and unprovoked injury upon a nation which had been, in honest faith, her best friend, and, as far as the wishes of its people were concerned, her truest ally, was what the American people could not believe. So confidently did they feel themselves entitled to her friendship, that upon the breaking out of the slaveholders' rebellion, there was not a loyal man in all the North, who did not rely with unquestioning confidence upon the warmest sympathy and heartiest good-wishes of her Government and people. But in all this they have been grievously,

sadly disappointed, and it is not to be denied that their feelings have been sorely wounded. They thought that the land of the Russells and the Sidneys, of Charles Fox and Gladstone, of Milton and Tennyson, would have denounced the insurrection as inexcusable and its motive as infamous. But instead, they find the sympathies of the British nation, not with the free North fighting for the preservation of their Government, and upholding the cause of civilization and humanity, but with those who are endeavoring to destroy that Government in order that slavery may be spread and perpetuated, and its systems, habits, institutions and practices, strengthened and encouraged.

By an act of the Legislature, passed at the extra session, in April, I was "authorized and empowered to accept the services, and cause to be enlisted, enrolled and mustered into the service of the State * * * * ten regiments of volunteers, not exceeding one thousand men to each regiment," to serve as infantry or riflemen to aid the President in enforcing the laws of the United States and maintaining the Government thereof, and to protect the same against its enemies; the said regiments to be turned over to the United States, and mustered into its service upon the order of the Governor. And the sum of one million of dollars, or so much thereof as should be necessary, was appropriated to defray the expenses arising under said act.

The militia of the State had for many years, been strangely, not to say criminally, neglected, so that when the Executive authorities entered upon the discharge of

the duties and responsibilities devolved upon them by the law of the extra session, there were scarcely thirty companies of militia, having even the form of organization, to be found within its borders. And if in the performance of these duties some errors and mistakes shall be discovered, as undoubtedly there will, the patriotic ardor of the people, and their earnest co-operation with the Executive rendered the consequences resulting from such errors and mistakes, the occasion it is hoped, of but slight inconvenience or detriment to the public service.

The first regiment of volunteers raised, uniformed and equipped by the State, was mustered into the service of the United States on the third of May, or within nine days after the passage of the law authorizing its formation. Although enlisted for the term of two years, it was mustered into the service of the United States but for three months. A considerable portion of this regiment was afterwards mustered into the United States service for the residue of the term of their enlistment, as members of the 10th regiment of Maine volunteers. The latter regiment left the State for the seat of war, on the 6th of October. With these exceptions, all the regiments organized in this State, whether under the act of the twenty-fifth April, or by authority of the President, have been mustered into the service of the United States for three years or during the war.

The number of men enlisted in the State, and uniformed and equipped by it, and mustered into the service of the United States, is as follows :

First Regiment of Infantry, (mustered out of service U. S., August 5,)	779
Second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth and tenth infantry regiments, including recruits subsequently enlisted and sent forward to fill their ranks; and also including Capt. J. D. Fessenden's company of sharp shooters,	9,290
Guards at Forts McCleary, Scammel and Sullivan, including men mustered out of the service of the State, upon the assumption by the U. S. of the charge these forts,	255

The following regiments have been raised by the direct authority of the President, and uniformed and equipped at the immediate expense of the United States, viz :

Eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth regiments of infantry,	4,345
Men recruited for the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth regiments, not yet mustered, estimated at	290
First cavalry,	1,163
First, second, third, fourth, fifth and sixth batteries of light artillery,	802
Recruits for same, not yet mustered, estimated at	100
	<hr/>
	17,024

To these numbers must be added the men recently recruited for regiments in the field, in cases where the recruiting officers have not yet made their returns to the Adjutant General, not less than	100
	<hr/>
	17,124
Deduct three months regiment,	779
	<hr/>
	16,345

Maine's proportion of the army 500,000 of men authorized by act of Congress, and called for by the President, (if to be raised by the free States and Territories alone,) is 15,767. It will be seen that our patriotic State, although lying so far from the seat of danger, has con-

tributed 578 men in excess of the quota apportioned to her by the general government.

The elaborate report of the Adjutant General, who has also been Acting Quarter-Master General and Acting Paymaster General of the State, very fully and clearly explains the large and varied transactions of the departments under his charge, and embodies in the repertory of facts and figures which it contains, collected and digested from the papers in his office, a vast amount of interesting and valuable information for the people.

From this report it will appear that the county which has furnished the largest number of men for the war in proportion to its population, is the one which of all is most remote from the points of rendezvous, and with which the means of communication are most limited. Aroostook county, in the extreme north-eastern part of the State and of the United States, with a population in 1860 of 22,449, has sent equal to eleven companies, the flower of her forest homes, to maintain the Union. This number is, it is believed, a larger per centage of the entire population than has been furnished by any other county in New England.

Hereafter, when we shall have returned to the ordinary avocations of peace, the question whether this patriotic county shall remain separated and isolated from the rest of the State and from the other States, or have commodious access to them only by avenues provided through a foreign country and by a not friendly people, will, I am confident, if military necessities shall not have sooner settled it, re-

ceive such answer as will comport with the interest, the justice and the gratitude of the State.

The extraordinary labors imposed upon the Adjutant General by reason of the war, render an increase of his salary an act of absolute justice.

For the ten regiments raised by the State on its own account, including the company of Sharp Shooters, the expenditures have been as follows :

On warrants already drawn—

For one three months regiment,	\$57,229 29
For nine two and three years regiments,	942,648 77
Due upon accounts for which warrants have not been drawn, part of which have been liquidated by the Council, and estimates made of the remainder,	73,604 96
	<hr/> \$1,073,483 02

In this sum is included the whole expense incurred for the enlistment of troops, for subsistence and transportation; for clothing, equipments, tents and other equipage, camp utensils—with all which the troops were fully provided; arms, of which enough were furnished for more than four regiments; horses and wagons; pay roll; bounty; advances to the United States; hospital supplies; expenses of the extra session of the Legislature; incidental expenses, and October interest on the war loan, &c., &c. Deducting the sums not properly chargeable to account for raising and uniforming the troops, and the aggregate expenditures fall short of one million of dollars.

Subjoined are some of the principal items in this account, so far as drawn for by warrants:

Clothing,	\$251,372 99
Small arms,	68,161 68

Accoutrements and equipments,	\$22,370 49
Transportation in this State and between Boston and New York,	28,786 97
Equipage, including tents,	49,685 49
Subsistence and quarters,	89,721 41
Bounty,	194,441 41
Regimental pay rolls,	140,245 79
Advances to the United States, at the forts, &c.,	15,572 62
Wagons, ambulances and harnesses,	21,719 00
Horses,	52,943 62
Interest on loan,	7,500 00

These items, as also those not given here, will be increased when the accounts, yet unsettled—amounting as is estimated, as before stated, to \$73,604.96—shall be paid.

The State has a claim against the United States in addition to the foregoing, (and independent of certain items not fully ascertained,) for rifle muskets in the hands of the Maine volunteers, but delivered to the United States; for cannon in the forts; and for other articles, amounting in all to

The estimated value of	\$24,773 00
Add sums paid, &c.,	1,073,483 20
	<hr/>
	\$1,098,256 20

From this amount must be deducted a payment made by the United States in September, of	200,000 00
	<hr/>

And there remains due from the United States to this State,	\$898,256 02
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A full statement of these expenditures and claims will be laid before you.

Of the loan of \$1,000,000, authorized by the resolve of April 25, 1861, but \$800,000 has been called for. The amount received into the Treasury applicable to war expenditures is \$803,087.50, being the aggre-

gate received for State bonds, including premium and \$200,000 refunded by the United States, making \$1,003,087.50 in all. Against this sum warrants have been drawn for \$999,887.80. It is proper, however, to add that the Treasurer's account will show warrants paid to the amount of \$1,006,625.13, and that from the books of the Governor and Council it will appear that warrants to the amount of \$1,263.68 have been drawn, which have not yet been paid by the Treasurer, making the whole amount of warrants \$1,007,888.81; but on these warrants the sum of \$8,011.01 was paid from funds which had been returned to the Treasury by Paymasters of regiments who had received that sum in excess of what turned out to be necessary for their several payments to troops. The money, not having been used, was returned to the Treasury, and afterwards redrawn, so that the entire sum drawn from the Treasury by warrants on account of the appropriation of April 26, 1861, is the sum before stated of \$999,887.80.

But there are, as has been seen, still outstanding against the State, on account of war expenditures, (estimated in part) claims amounting to \$73,604.96, for the payment of which an appropriation will be necessary.

The Secretary of the Treasury has declared his readiness to repay to the States forty per centum of their advances to the federal government, and as I have requested a return of \$120,000 (in addition to what has already been paid,) and which will be received by the Treasurer, it is supposed, within a few days, there will be no occasion, I presume, for resorting to the unexhausted authority of the resolve of April 25.

The war debt against the State stands as follows

In the form of State bonds,	\$800,000 00
In the form of unsettled claims,	73,604 96
	<hr/>
	\$873,604 96
To meet which it has a claim against the U. S., arising from advances for the war, of	\$898,256 20
Cash in the Treasury, proceeds of the war loan, after the outstanding warrants shall be paid,	*3,245 65
	<hr/>
Total,	\$901,465 46

It is believed that the purchases, contracts, vouchers and books in all cases have been so made and kept that the expenditure of every dollar of money by the State on account of the war may be readily and specifically accounted for.

Of the moneys expended for these regiments, and also for the regiments and batteries raised at the direct cost of the United States, the latter amounting to about \$700,000, making a total of more than \$1,700,000, nearly \$1,500,000 has been paid to citizens of this State.

By section 53 of the Act of Congress providing for a direct tax, it is enacted "that any State, Territory or District, which shall give notice by the Governor, or other proper officer thereof, to the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States on or before the second Tuesday of February next, and in each succeeding year thereafter, of its intention to assume and pay, or to assess and collect and pay into the Treasury of the United States, the direct tax imposed by this act, shall be entitled in lieu of the compensation, pay per diem and per centage, herein prescribed

* This includes \$35.95 received from Maj. A. Hayden, proceeds of sales at Fort Sullivan.

and allowed to assessors, assistant assessors and collectors of the United States, to a deduction of fifteen per centum on the quota of direct tax apportioned to such State, Territory or the District of Columbia, levied and collected by said State or Territory and District of Columbia through its said officers: *Provided, however,* That the deduction shall only be made to apply to such part or parts of the same as shall have been actually paid into the Treasury of the United States on or before the last day of June, in the year to which such payment relates, and a deduction of ten per centum to such part or parts of the same as shall have been actually paid into the Treasury of the United States on or before the last day of September, in the year to which such payment relates, such year being regarded as commencing on the first day of April: *And provided further,* That whenever notice of the intention to make such payment by the State or Territory and the District of Columbia, shall have been given to the Secretary of the Treasury, in accordance with the foregoing provisions, no assessors, assistant assessors, or collectors, in any State, Territory or District, so giving notice, shall be appointed, unless said State or Territory shall be in default: *And provided further,* That the amount of direct tax apportioned to any State, Territory, or the District of Columbia, shall be liable to be paid and satisfied, in whole or in part, by the releases of such State, Territory or District, duly executed, to the United States, of any liquidated and determined claim of such State, Territory or District, of equal amount against the United States: *Provided,* That in case of such release, such

State, Territory or District shall be allowed the same abatement of the amount of such tax as would be allowed in case of payment of the same in money."

The quota of direct tax apportioned to this State is \$420,826. Deduct from this \$63,123 91, being 15 per centum of the tax, and \$357,702 10 remains as the minimum liability of the State, a liability which may be paid and satisfied by a release of an equal amount due to it from the United States.

In my judgment it is expedient for the Legislature to cause notice to be given to the Secretary of the Treasury, that it is the intention of the State to assume and pay its quota of this tax, and I would recommend that the proper measures be adopted or authorized, to obtain an early liquidation of its claim against the United States, with a view to a release of so much thereof to the United States as may be necessary to pay and discharge the tax apportioned to it. If the whole amount of the claim shall be allowed, as it undoubtedly will be by Congress, if not by the Treasury Department, and if the tax shall not be increased, there will remain due to the State, after satisfying the tax payable in June, 1862, \$540,517.71.

The alacrity with which our brethren have enlisted in defence of their government, illustrates the depth and earnestness of their patriotism, and commends them with an eloquence which can receive no assistance from words, to the admiration and affectionate regard of their fellow-citizens. By their manly and stalwart forms, their unusual intelligence, their good discipline and martial bearing, and by the gallantry displayed by such as have been called

to the battle-field, they have reflected distinguished honor upon the State. For of all the soldiers enrolled in the armies of the Union, it is gratifying to know that they stand, by universal consent, in the very front rank. Let those who remain behind while they have gone forward to offer up, if need be, their lives for their country's life, neglect not to discharge the debt they owe the true and brave men in whose devotion and valor the hopes of the nation and of humanity are centered.

In the progress of the war it will often happen that the health and well-being of the soldier may be promoted by the looking-after and care of the State authorities. Some articles of outfit necessary for his health have heretofore been furnished by this State (as they have been by others) which are not provided for in the regulations of the army. It may be necessary to furnish such hereafter. Sometimes donations for the troops may fail of reaching their destination for want of proper care, or by reason of the non-payment of bills of transportation; and it will occur not unfrequently that funds are required for the transportation and relief of sick and disabled soldiers. I think that an appropriation should be made to the end that these and similar needs of the soldier may be properly attended to.

Whether any legislation is expedient to equalize the burdens assumed by the towns, or a portion of them, for the support of the families of soldiers, is for you to determine.

To facilitate the transfer of so much of the soldier's pay as he may be desirous of sending home, allotment rolls have been prepared. The plan adopted in this State, and which has the sanction of the war Department, combines

the advantages of promptitude and safety, and involves no expense to the soldier or to the party for whom the allotment is made. Believing that a great and positive benefit would be conferred on the soldier and others in whom he is interested, by placing it in his power to avail himself of this desirable method of transmitting his funds to his family or friends, I requested, some time ago, Lieutenant Colonel A. W. Wildes, one of my Aides de Camp, to proceed to the camps of the Maine volunteers near Washington, for the purpose of presenting the rolls to soldiers for their signatures. Allotments were procured by the agency of Lieutenant Colonel Wildes to the amount of about \$20,000 per month, as will appear by his report, a copy of which will be laid before you.

The necessity of a more perfect organization of the militia, and of a more efficient system, will not fail to occupy your thoughts. Perhaps that complete and well adjusted system, which is to become the expression of the permanent policy of the State, will be the work of other times, when the experience and suggestions of the many able officers now in the service may be made available by our law-makers. But it cannot be doubted that important changes in the laws are of immediate necessity, among which may be mentioned such as will enable the State to call out its full strength upon the shortest notice, should occasion require. I commend the whole subject to your most serious consideration—one of greater moment can hardly come before you at the present session. The subject of providing for the manufacture of arms and other munitions of war will deserve your attention.

The reports of the several State officers will be laid before you in a few days.

That of the Treasurer will show that the receipts of the Treasury, pertaining to the ordinary affairs of the State Government, for the past year were \$385,712 33, and the disbursements for the same period were \$358,527 02. The receipts on account of the war were \$1,003,087 50, and the disbursements on the same account \$998,578 17.

An increase of the State tax is unavoidable, unless it shall be deemed expedient to leave the interest upon the war loan to be provided for by further reclamations upon the Treasury of the United States. As it is not improbable that the entire amount of our claim against the United States, so far as it shall have been liquidated, will be required to satisfy the quotas of direct tax which may be called for in 1862 and 1863, you will consider whether it will not be the more prudent course to reserve this indebtedness for the purpose of meeting the demands of the Federal Government.

The war, which has stimulated the activities of our people in several branches of industry, has affected unfavorably those which influence the operations of the Land Office. The Land Agent has, however, been able to pay into the Treasury during the last year the sum of \$25,792 15.

The transactions of the State Prison have also been embarrassed by the war. Messrs. Sumner and Maxey, who had on the 21st of November, 1859, contracted for the labor of the prisoners for the term of three years, on the 28th of May last, in consequence, as they alleged, of the depression in business affecting the sale of articles manu-

factured by them, abandoned their contract and threw upon the Warden the care and responsibility of superintending the labor of the convicts, and of providing for their subsistence. In consequence of the failure of these contractors, the salaries of certain officers, for which they were liable, remained unpaid until they were provided for by the Warden, in whose behalf warrants were drawn upon the Treasury for the amount due. As the appropriation was insufficient for this unexpected demand, the excess was drawn from the contingent fund of the Governor and Council.

The improvement in the method of warming and ventilating the Insane Hospital, made under the authority of the last Legislature, although involving an expenditure somewhat in excess of the appropriation, is so obvious and valuable, that no one, who remembers the Hospital as it was, will question the propriety of what has been done, and it is believed that no one who will thoroughly examine this work will regard the cost as unreasonable. This institution continues to be well conducted by Dr. Harlow, its able and faithful Superintendent.

My time, during the past season, has been so constantly employed in duties connected with the raising and equipping of troops, that I have been unable to give that attention to the affairs of our various public institutions, which was due to their importance, and which under other circumstances I should have been glad to bestow. For information concerning the operations and condition of the Reform School, I must refer you to the reports of the Superintendent and Trustees.

The truest expression of our estimate of the Government for whose existence we are struggling, will be found in the faithfulness with which we provide for the institutions which are its strength and ornament. Our efforts to preserve its form would be of little worth were we to allow its spirit to depart. The pretermittting for even a single year of our labors in the cause of education, and particularly of our interest in common schools, would be a loss to the community which neither time nor money could repair. The loss to a child of a single year's education is an irremediable loss. I hope, therefore, that while consulting a wise and indispensable economy, such as the times demand, you will preserve and cherish all the needful instrumentalities for the training and education of the young, and particularly of the children of the poor. Let the deprivations of the war be felt as lightly as possible, and do not persuade the people of burdens which have but an imaginary existence, lest they be discouraged, by the mere apprehension of trouble, from persevering in a cause whose success needs no other guaranty than their fidelity and patience. Doubtless some reduction of expenses in the department of public education should be made. But upon this point as well as others connected with this subject, the suggestions of the accomplished Superintendent of Common Schools, will be entitled to great weight.

The expectations of the Legislature which authorized the scientific survey of the State, have, I think, been more than realized in the results which will be reported to you by Messrs. Holmes and Hitchcock, the gentlemen who were appointed to conduct it. I can not doubt that the honor

and interest of the State will be consulted, by making a suitable appropriation for continuing the survey. The advantage to our State to be derived from a knowledge of its resources, to say nothing of the benefits to science, such as a thorough survey only can furnish, will amply justify the expense of its prosecution.

In this connection, allow me to call your attention to a work of great interest and convenience to us all, and of which, as citizens of Maine, we may well be proud. I refer to the new map of the State just published by Messrs. J. Chace, Jr., & Co., which for accuracy, fulness, and beauty of execution, is unsurpassed, if not unequalled, by the map of any State in the Union.

I recommend the passage of a law providing for the election annually of a State Auditor. Should such a law be enacted, a change in the Constitution in regard to the Council might, I think, be made without detriment to the public service, and with advantage to the Treasury. The average annual expense of the Council is in the neighborhood of four thousand dollars. An amendment of the Constitution making the principal State officers—as the Attorney General, Secretary of State, Treasurer, Auditor, and Adjutant General—*ex officio* the members of the Council, would bring to that board the experience of men who from their positions would be acquainted with the affairs of the principal offices of the State Government, while it would reduce the expenses of the Executive Department—after making proper allowance for the salary of the Auditor, and the increase of salary which some of the State officers might justly claim from an increase of duty—by

the sum of at least two thousand dollars per annum. I think it worthy of your consideration whether, if so considerable a saving as this can be effected by a change in the Constitution in this respect, there are reasons of principle or of policy which would render it unwise or inexpedient.

Gentlemen of the Senate and House of Representatives:
It is our fortune to occupy places of trust and responsibility at a time when questions of the highest import are to be determined—questions reaching to the foundations of human government, and affecting the rights of human nature. And it rests largely with those whom the people have honored with their confidence, whether these questions be settled in such manner that Republican institutions shall be established on a firmer basis than ever, or be renounced and abandoned as acknowledged failures. We are here, then, not only as the representatives of the State of Maine, but, also, in the broader and higher capacity of representatives of the American Union, and, in that, of freedom, civilization and humanity. With a deep sense of responsibility to that august constituency for the manner in which we shall perform our parts in this momentous crisis, and with earnest supplications for His guidance “whose word is right and all whose works are done in truth,” let us enter upon the duties that are before us.

ISRAEL WASHBURN, JR.

JANUARY 2, 1862.

STATE OF MAINE.

IN SENATE, JANUARY 2, 1862.

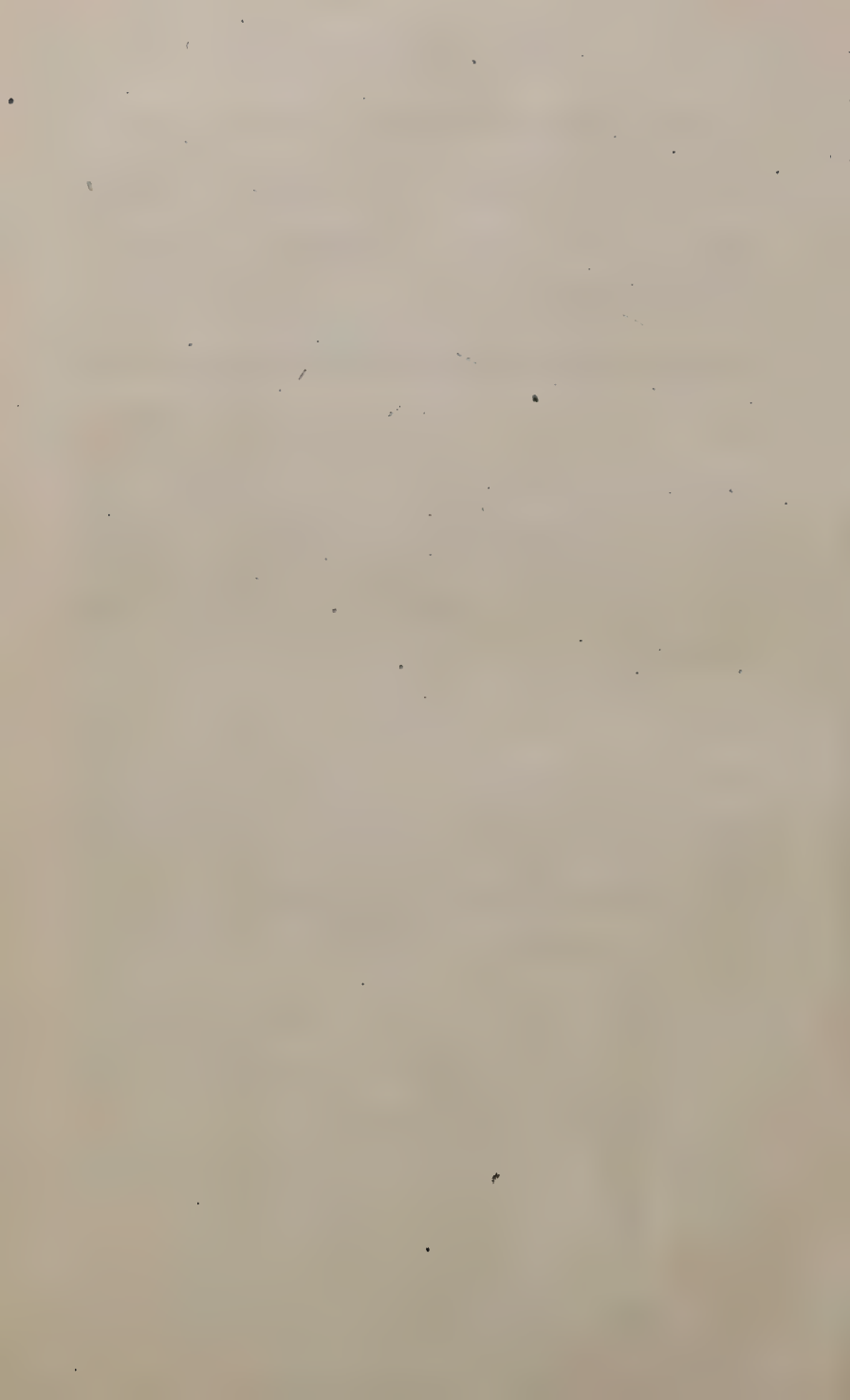
Ordered, That the Secretary cause to be printed for the use of the Senate, one thousand copies of the address of the Governor. delivered this day to the Legislature.

JAMES M. LINCOLN, *Secretary*.

IN HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, }
January 2, 1862. }

Ordered, That the Governor be requested to furnish to this House a copy of the address delivered by him to the convention of both Houses, and that when so furnished two thousand five hundred copies of the same be printed for the use of the House.

CHARLES A. MILLER, *Clerk*.



LETTER

TO THE

REV. ROBERT S. CANDLISH, D. D.

BY

R. ANDERSON, D. D.

FOREIGN SECRETARY OF THE AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR
FOREIGN MISSIONS.

BOSTON:

PRESS OF T. R. MARVIN & SON, 42 CONGRESS STREET.

1862.

LETTER.

Missionary House, Boston, Dec. 31, 1861.

TO THE REV. ROBERT S. CANDLISH, D. D.,
Edinburgh, Scotland :

Rev. and Dear Sir:—A friend has kindly sent us ‘The Witness’ of November 23d, containing the proceedings at a Conference on the Foreign Missions of the Free Church ; with particular reference to a portion of an address by yourself, in which you refer to the American Board, and to the Deputation to its India missions. The paper was received just before a stated meeting of our Prudential Committee, and I was advised to write you ; which I do with the assurance that what I am about to say is in full accordance with the views of our Committee, and of all the office-bearers of our Board.

The American Board, as you are doubtless aware, acts for the New School Presbyterian and the Congregational Churches, and both of these bodies have taken a deep interest in the Free Church of Scotland, from the day of its separation. We are alive to its proceedings, to its prosperity, and to the opinions of its leading men. Nor was it needful that you should occupy, as you do, the chair of Moderator in the highest Judicature of your Church, to make us desire a place in your esteem.

The authorities upon which you have relied have led to an erroneous statement of the opinions and proceedings of the American Board, and especially of that one of its Secretaries, who was sent to visit the missions in India, and has now the honor of addressing you ; and this is equally true as regards the Rev. Dr. Thompson, my respected associate in the Deputation. Among other things, you say : “ These brethren, especially the Secretary, evidently came to India with a foregone conclusion ; ” that “ it appears plainly, from the minutes of the Board itself and from the writings of the Secretary, that he had made up his mind that schools are not the proper mode of conducting

missions; that mission schools were not a fair object of the expenditure of mission funds;” that in their visit to India “right and left they seem to have put down the schools;” that “the Board and the Deputation reported against the expenditure of their funds on the mission schools;” “that *that* was a blow all but fatal to the missions;” and “that the Board are now in the course of retracing their steps.”

Your authority for the above statements was, you remark, “an exceedingly interesting volume, published in New York by Mr. Wilder, who had been fifteen years a missionary of the Board, written in the most friendly spirit, both as regards the Board and the Deputation.” It is necessary for me to say, that that book was prepared and published after the Prudential Committee had decided, for reasons but slightly and remotely, if at all, connected with his views relating to schools, not to send Mr. Wilder back to India; and that our impressions as to its spirit are very unlike your own. Allow me, as one specially interested, to add, that Mr. Wilder’s representations of my own sayings and doings differ almost totally from my recollections of the facts. What the facts were, so far as they stand connected with the portion of your address now under consideration, I will very briefly state, and in the form of quotation, so far as may be, as being most likely to be satisfactory. But I must not withhold a Resolution of the Mahratta mission, with which Mr. Wilder was formerly connected, dated at Ahmednuggur, Oct. 18, 1861, and received since I began this epistle. It is as follows:

“That we regard the work recently published in America, by the Rev. R. G. Wilder, of Kolapoor, entitled ‘Mission Schools in India,’ as containing numerous misstatements in reference to this mission, and many statements which, from the connection in which they stand, are calculated to give an incorrect impression; especially as important facts, which were well known to Mr. Wilder and are necessary to the proper understanding of the subject, are omitted; and hence we consider the book as unworthy the confidence of the Christian public.”

I now proceed to the facts:

1. Excepting a single point, I can recollect no “foregone conclusion” in my own mind, when I went to India. Having then been for more than thirty years connected with the foreign

correspondence of the Board, and intimately conversant with all its missions beyond sea, I could not but have a variety of definite opinions as to the best method of conducting missions ; but I recall only one such conclusion, and that was, if possible, to bring about the institution of a *native pastorate* in the missions. I rejoice to say, that this was effected in each of the three older India missions.

2. You refer to “the writings of the Secretary,” as affording proof that mission funds ought not, in his estimation, to be expended on mission schools. All the writings of the Secretary and of the Deputation, that have as yet been committed to the press, are lying before me. Nothing is said in them against such schools, but only as to the manner of using the schools. In their Report to the Board, the Deputation declare the doctrine they inculcated in India, as well as the result to which the missions everywhere arrived in their proceedings, to have been this ;—“*That the system of education in all its parts, so far as it is supported by the funds of the mission, should have a direct reference to the training up of native teachers and preachers.*” In their letters to the missions, they used the following language concerning various classes of native teachers and helpers ;—“We now have better use for our funds, than in the payment of heathen schoolmasters.” “If we would have teachers worth employing, we must educate them. The same is emphatically true of catechists. This latter class will not all need the same amount of education ; and we concur most fully with you in the opinion, that they should not be taught the English language.”—“Our experience strongly inclines us to believe, that we have repeatedly begun too early, and expended too much money and strength in training helpers ; and that it is better to defer the systematic effort—the [high or training] school—till the converts adapted to our purpose justify the expense of the institution. How large a number of your present helpers are uneducated men, except in the ability to read the Scriptures, and to expound, mainly from their own experience, the leading truths of the gospel ! And yet how useful they have been ! With more education, they would almost of course have been more valuable ; but, at the outset, who would have rejected

their co-operation? Let us employ such helpers as we have, in the *beginning* of our efforts, and the better educated will come in due time. We only add, that you may rely on the disposition of the Prudential Committee to aid you, to the extent of their ability, in really promising efforts for bringing forward an efficient native ministry at the earliest possible day."

In one of their letters to a mission, the Deputation wrote thus concerning an English-language school of a secondary rank, at an interior station: "The school has been in operation twenty years. Not far from five hundred boys have enjoyed its advantages. A great amount of missionary time, thought and labor has been given to it. All has been done for it that the nature of the case permitted. No one can doubt it has been useful to society. But not a member of the school has ever been known to receive a saving impression from the truths of the gospel. God has withheld from it his seal. We believe that the experiment has been sufficiently tried."

In their reasoning concerning the kind of schools to be employed, and especially those in which the English language was to be taught, the Deputation made a distinction between rural districts and great cities,—a distinction, as will appear in the sequel, which has since been recognized and sanctioned by Dr. Duff. Not only did they forbear all criticism upon the great English-teaching schools of your own and other kindred bodies in Bombay, Madras and Calcutta, but they never expressed an opinion that such schools were not what the peculiar exigencies of those great cities required. On their return from India, they thus reported to the Board: "A distinction should be made between the *great cities* of India, and the *rural districts*. If we would gain access for the gospel to the inhabitants of such cities as Bombay, Madras and Calcutta, and especially to the higher classes, it *may be* that measures must be adopted there, which are neither necessary nor expedient in the rural districts, especially for the masses of the people. The best method of conducting missions in such cities is still subject to costly experiments, which have not as yet had time enough for testing their results. There are peculiar circumstances in them, which will more or less control our plans and movements. The question of chief difficulty in respect to Madras

is, whether it will be expedient for the Board to retain its present mission there. In case it should do so, it is a fact of importance, resulting from the comparative isolation of this city, that the plans there pursued will not probably have the effect to interfere with the working of the Arcot and Madura missions. But it is thought to be otherwise with Bombay. The most difficult question is, how to prosecute the Bombay mission so as not to draw down the more enterprising converts from the interior villages to the metropolis, from whence few of them would ever return."

In the "Memorial Volume of the First Fifty Years of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions,"—a copy of which I take the liberty of sending you,—the writer of this letter, in the chapter on Schools, thus describes the relation which the Board sustains, and has sustained, to education and missionary schools.

"(1.) In the present advanced state of most of its missions, it finds a more profitable use for its funds, than in the support of heathen school-masters. Nor does past experience encourage any great outlay for common schools composed of very young heathen children, even with Christian masters; nor for boarding-schools that are chiefly made up of such children. Christian children should of course receive a Christian education; but, even here, it is not wise to be forward to relieve parents of one of their most obvious and sacred duties. Into these schools as many heathen children should have admission as can find room; and there should be schools also expressly for such, if there be reliable teachers for their instruction, and funds for their support.

"(2.) The Board has been obliged, in the progress of its work, to decline connection with expensive educational institutions for general education to prepare young men for secular and worldly pursuits. Its higher schools, whether for males or females, have been more strictly training institutions, with express and direct reference to carrying out the great purposes of the missions. Moreover, it has been found necessary to exclude the English language, in great measure, from the training schools for educating village teachers, preachers, and pastors.

"(3.) The education in the missions under the care of the Board, regarded as a whole, was never so effective, in a missionary point of view, never so valuable, as at the present moment. Perhaps there are as many common schools as the missionaries can well superintend. What these schools most need is better teachers, and to derive more of their support from the parents of the pupils. The self-supporting principle among native Christians, in all its applications, needs an unsleeping guardianship and culture. It is here that the grand practical difficulty lies in the working of specific charities. Where a man can support himself, it would be cruel to support him."

Thus much as to our "writings;" and the "Minutes of the Board" will be found entirely consentaneous with these.

Decidedly Christian schools, adapted to the condition of the people, following in the train of the preached gospel, and purely auxiliary to its ministrations, we all regard, and have long regarded, as an essential element in a well-conducted mission.

And here I may as well quote the published opinions of your admirable missionary, Dr. Duff, adverse to the teaching of the English language to village school-masters, catechists and preachers. They are extracted from a paper approved by the Calcutta Missionary Conference, and taken from the 'Prospectus of the Madras Branch of the Christian Vernacular Education Society for India.' Dr. Duff says:

"There is, *first*, the *time* and the *expense*, that must be consumed in acquiring it [the English language] to *any good purpose*. From experience, we must say, that a period of *six years* is the very minimum, even in the case of the more clever and talented youths. To require, therefore, an effective knowledge of English for *village* teachers in Bengal, would, as has in substance been remarked, be somewhat equivalent to requiring for the rural population of England, that every parish schoolmaster should have a University degree in classical literature.

"There is, *secondly*, the uselessness, as to any mental illumination, of a mere smattering of English acquired in a shorter time. It is strength lavishly and fruitlessly wasted, 'in the substitution of a very imperfect and inaccurate knowledge of English, with a still smaller knowledge of other things, for that higher education through the vernacular which, while giving full and accurate information of a practical kind, would, at the same time, strengthen the faculties of the mind.'

"There is, *thirdly*, the actual unfitting of the pupils for the work for which they are destined. What is wanted is, men with a simple but efficient education, specially adapted to the condition and wants of the rural population—men, also, who will be cheerfully willing to labor for *moderate* salaries. Now, in the present state of things, even a smattering of English would be sure to elevate young men in their own eyes to a superiority which would render them unwilling to devote themselves exclusively to the drudgery of teaching the vernacular, or utterly discontented with a *moderate* salary, such as that to which the past usages and actual ability and willingness of the people must assign a limit. While the teacher, conversant with the vernacular alone, would be satisfied with such a moderate allowance as might be fairly expected from village communities, earnestly desirous of instruction for their children, the veriest smatterer in English would be a dissatisfied and heartless grumbler, were we to offer him less than double or treble that sum."

Dr. Duff has here given utterance to just the views, on the use of the English language, which had before been expressed by the Deputation when in India. And you need only to apply the principle underlying his remarks, to the *amount of secular education* to be given to native helpers *in the early stages of a mission*, to see why we would impart a more exclusively biblical and theological character to our training schools, than perhaps he is yet prepared to recommend.

3. You have received the impression, and embodied it in your address, that the Deputation, in their visit to India, "put down the schools, right and left;" that the Board and the Deputation both declared themselves adverse to expending funds on mission schools; that a blow "all but fatal" was thus inflicted on the missions; and that the Board is now in the course of retracing its steps. I think you will be happy to know, that there has been nothing of the kind.

The Deputation, when in India, did not indeed see their way clear, for the reason already stated, to authorize the establishment of an expensive English High School in Bombay. Doing what the Prudential Committee had formally done, four years before, they discouraged the employing of heathen schoolmasters at the expense of the Board. They expressed an opinion unfavorable to the use of the English language, in training teachers and preachers for our rural districts, except in special cases. They discouraged the institution of boarding-schools for very young children; and the multiplication of common schools without competent teachers, or for very young children; and also the supporting of schools for the children of Christian parents, when the parents were themselves able, and might be induced, to support them. They dissuaded from carrying the general education of the native preachers so far in advance of the average intelligence and civilization of the native Christians, as to unfit those preachers for laboring contentedly in rural stations, or to live on salaries such as the native churches might be expected ere long to pay, or to mingle familiarly with their brethren, and so secure their sympathy and love. But in every case, and chiefly through the action of the missions themselves, the Deputation is believed to have left the school-systems and

the schools in a more hopeful condition than they found them. And the developments, since and now, in the missions, have been in accordance with the principles and plans then agreed upon by the brethren of the several missions and the Deputation. Nor are we aware of any retrogression, either by the missions, or by the Board, nor of any thought of such a thing. Certainly the Deccan portion of our Mahratta mission, and also our Madura mission, never rejoiced over such prosperity, as since the visit of the Deputation, in the past five or six years; and the Ceylon mission, breaking away at that time from its bondage to the native passion for the English language and the pursuit of wealth, and laboring exclusively in the tongue wherein the people were born, begins to enjoy the prospect of self-supporting native churches, under a purely native ministry; and the school for instruction in the English language is now sustained and taught by Christian natives. The Mahratta, Ceylon, and Madura missions above-named,—instituted respectively in the years 1813, 1816 and 1834,—are our principal India missions. Have these missions been suffering under “an all but fatal blow?” Six years ago, neither of them had a native pastor; now, they have fourteen such pastors. Then, there were a score of churches, and about a thousand members; now, there are fifty-six churches in these three missions, containing more than two thousand members. Indeed, we have to say, with gratitude to our gracious Lord, that the admissions into the churches in the district of Ahmednuggur, in the five years following the visit of the Deputation, were nearly five times as many as in the five years preceding; and the churches have multiplied from two to sixteen. Adverting to this fact, the Rev. Henry Ballantine, who has been twenty-six years a member of the Mahratta mission, says, in a letter from Ahmednuggur, dated February 7, 1861: “Should it be asked how the sudden increase in the number of converts in the last term of five years can be accounted for, I would say, there is no doubt that the new policy inaugurated in the mission in 1855, putting missionaries out in the districts to labor among the people, has been the means, in the hands of God, of greatly extending the knowledge of the truth, and of bringing many more converts into our churches. Some members of the mission desired to see this policy pur-

sued ten years before it was adopted, but at length the Deputation, coming to India in 1854, decided the matter which had been discussed in the mission so long, and the plan was at once put in execution." In a more recent communication, referring to statements to the effect that changes made in the policy of the mission at the time of the visit by the Deputation had alienated the affections of the higher castes, and that since 1856 there had been no converts from such castes in connection with that mission, Mr. Ballantine says: "This is a great mistake. We are having more intercourse with the higher castes, both in Ahmednuggur and in the villages around, than we ever had at any former period in the history of this mission. And this intercourse is very friendly and pleasant." "In 1860 we had four converts, and this year we have had already three converts, from the higher castes. Altogether, there have been fifteen such converts in four and a half years, all of whom were originally idolaters, and brought up in heathenism. We have never had so many persons of high caste brought into our churches in Ahmednuggur and vicinity, in any period of five years before, as we have received since 1856. Our inquirers, too, at the present time, from the higher castes, are more than usual."

But is it a fact, that the Board, or that the Deputation, did ever "report against the expenditure of funds on the mission schools?" I have already said enough to show that no such report could have been made by the Deputation; and I send you a copy of their Report to the Board, that you may have the whole matter before you. I also send a copy of the Report of the Special Committee of Thirteen, appointed by the Board to investigate all questions pertaining to the visit of the Deputation to India. Appended to that Report, you will find the following Resolutions adopted by the Board, expressive of their views as the result of the elaborate and thorough inquiries made by their very able committee, viz.:

"*Resolved*,—That the Deputation to the Eastern Missions have performed a great and needful work; that they have discharged their high trust as faithful, devoted men; that they receive the cordial thanks of the Board; and, that we may confidently hope that a new spirit may pervade and animate our missions abroad, and a strong missionary influence be given to our churches by this labor of love.

“*Resolved*,—That the oral utterance of the gospel, in public and private, is the chief instrumentality for the conversion of the world.

“*Resolved*,—That education and the press are to be employed as auxiliary agencies, in forms and methods, and in a relative proportion to the chief instrumentality, to be determined by the circumstances of each particular mission.”

Your authority has wholly misled you, as to the fact of a retrograde movement by the Board. I have already disavowed all knowledge of any such movement; and I feel assured that the Board is more and more confirmed in the views it expressed in 1856, and which had been previously advocated by the Deputation. We were never more impressed than now with the importance of mission schools, in their proper place; but we are able to make, and do make, discriminations, such as have been specified. I think you will agree with me, that the India Deputation and the Board ought never again to be charged with opposition to mission schools. I have admitted that the Board does not put schools in the fore-front of the battle—the preaching ministry stands there; and the Board does not believe that heathenism is to be overcome by science, in any of its forms and uses, but by the gospel, by the cross of Christ, plainly, simply, earnestly set forth, through the power of the Holy Spirit. Nor does it believe in the necessity of using long *preparatory* means for the preaching of the gospel in rural districts of the heathen world, aside from the idiomatic command of the vernacular language. Nor does it believe, against the evidences of an ample experience, that the plain, earnest, faithful preaching of the gospel, in the language of the people, will not arrest and subdue the adult, as well as the youth. But no missionary society is more decided than the American Board, that common schools and training or higher schools have their place in foreign missions, and cannot be dispensed with. You may be surprised by the statement, but it is a fact, that the American Board, in proportion to its expenditure, has had, ever since the changes made in India, a larger number of pupils in its mission schools beyond sea, than any other foreign missionary organization in this country.

Such, my dear sir, are the facts, and such are our views, frankly stated, on the great question of the use of preaching

and of schools in foreign missions. We are opposed to neither ; we use both ; and hold that both must be employed. Only we attach far greater importance to the preaching of the gospel, in the common, technical sense of that term ; and we believe that, among the “common people” of the unevangelized world, it has been far more instrumental of conversions, than schools have been and all the other means combined.

You refer to the late excellent Mr. Lacroix, of Calcutta, in the language of Dr. Duff, as having “devoted thirty-six years exclusively to vernacular preaching in all parts of Bengal, with a capacity, and effectiveness, and zeal unrivalled among us ;” and “yet died mourning over the fact, that very few conversions, indeed, had ever been known to result from his faithful and assiduous ministrations.” Dr. Mullens informs me that he has prepared a Memoir of Mr. Lacroix, which is soon to be published in London, and I shall defer to his representation of the facts. But I made the acquaintance of that lamented missionary when in Calcutta in the year 1855 ; and while I most cheerfully concur in all you say in his praise, I was greatly pained by my impressions of the chief cause of the failure to which you advert. I did not find that Mr. Lacroix had ever *concentrated* his labors as a preacher, for a long time, on any one point, with a view to making converts and *gathering them into a local church*. The church is the proper and effective nucleus of a congregation, as well as the basis of permanent success in the conversion of heathen men. It was making this a leading object, through the grace of God, that brought about the remarkable change in our Ahmednuggur district ; and without some such concentration, some such aim, with faith in the power of the preached gospel, I should never expect to see much success in winning souls anywhere, and still less among the heathen.

I ought not to close this epistle, unexpectedly prolonged, without adverting to the testimony of Mr. Nelder, of the South Mahratta country, whom you quote “in opposition to the views of the Deputation.” What did Mr. Nelder really know of their views ? And what did the “fourteen European missionaries in the Bombay Presidency” know of them ? or “the missionaries at Belgaum, Bellary, and Bangalore ;” or the “seven most intelli-

gent Christian laymen?" What are the opinions condemned by these brethren but the same you have erroneously supposed the Deputation to have entertained, and in the condemnation of which both the members of the Deputation have ever been ready to join with yourself and the whole missionary world? This India testimony was collected by Mr. Wilder; was founded upon his representations; and was submitted by him to the Special Committee on the Deputation in the year 1856; but how little it has to do with the real opinions of the Deputation, you, dear sir, have now some means of judging.

I make no complaint of these misapprehensions and misrepresentations concerning the American Board and its agents; and I am thankful that the Deputation has never been accused of disparaging the missions of other Societies. They saw these missions with pleasure and profit, at Bombay, Poonah, Travancore, Tinnevely, Ceylon, Madras, Calcutta. They sought only to discover the excellencies of those missions, that those excellencies might if possible be engrafted upon our own missions. In all the reports of the assembled missions containing the results of the joint deliberations; in all their own letters to the missions; in their subsequent report to the Board; and in the report of the Special Committee appointed by the Board to examine into their proceedings,—making about six hundred octavo pages,—I think you will not find a word that reflects upon your missions, or upon those of any other Society. The missionaries from Scotland and England seemed to them to be devoted, excellent, and highly useful servants of Christ—not a few of them standing in the very first rank of missionaries. Not to speak of the living, what they heard from their own brethren concerning the then recently departed Anderson, principal of your High School at Madras, left upon them the impression of great personal excellence and usefulness. The lamented Dr. Ewart, too, of Calcutta, with whom I formed a most pleasant acquaintance, (my associate had been previously called home by his pastoral duties,) gave me exalted conceptions of his own dignity and worth of character, and of the institution over which he presided; founded, I believe, by Dr. Duff. Nor can I forbear to speak of one who has charge of

another of the great educational institutions of Calcutta, the Rev. Dr. Mullens, of the London Missionary Society, still happily among the living. The printed proceedings of the India missions and of the Deputation, were all placed in his hands while on my sojourn of a month in that city, and I felt that no man in India was better able to decide upon their value. He has since declared his opinion, in the most generous, approving terms, at pp. 367-371 of that admirable volume, entitled "Conference on Missions, held in 1860, at Liverpool," of which I rejoice to see that as many as twenty-five thousand copies have gone into circulation.

I ought to say, that the publicity which our opinions on points connected with our own missions have attained, was not of our seeking, or owing to any fault of ours. If they have thus needlessly contributed to any troublesome discussions, we regret it; but if they should be found useful in the great and necessary process of applying experience, wherever found, to the present working-system of foreign missions, even though it be in a small degree, we shall acknowledge it with gratitude to God.

As the proceedings of your Conference, and of course your impressions of our agency in the matter of mission schools, seem to have had an extended circulation, it is deemed needful to send this letter in certain directions where we wish particularly that there should be correct views with respect to the Board and its missions; and I believe that you will desire to correct any erroneous impressions you may have inadvertently made in that important portion of the Church of Christ, upon which the influence of your opinions is deservedly great.

You will excuse, my dear sir, the freedom of this letter, considering the importance of the matters involved, and believe me to be, with great respect, very truly yours in the service of our Lord Jesus Christ,

R. ANDERSON,

*For. Sec. of the Am. Board of Com.
for Foreign Missions.*

POSTSCRIPT.

As some, to whom a copy of this letter is sent, may not have at hand the Proceedings of the Conference on the Foreign Missions of the Free Church, I subjoin the portion of your address here brought under review.

(From the Supplement to 'The Witness;' Edinburgh, November 23, 1861.)

Dr. Duff next refers to a Report to the American Board of a Special Committee, on the Deputation to India; and here I may interrupt the reading of his letter for a moment to refer to this American Deputation. Years ago the American Board sent out a Deputation, consisting of their Secretary and another member, to visit the missions in India. These brethren, especially the Secretary, evidently came to India with a foregone conclusion. It appears plainly from the minutes of the Board itself, and from the writings of the Secretary, that he had made up his mind that schools are not the proper mode of conducting missions—that mission schools were not a fair object for the expenditure of mission funds. Both he and his brother deputy had evidently made up their minds very much to that effect. They visited the churches in India, and right and left they seem to have put down the schools; and I have in my hands an exceedingly interesting volume published in New York, by Mr. Wilder, who had been for fifteen years missionary of the Board, written in the most friendly spirit, both as regards the Board and the deputation. The Board and the Deputation reported against the expenditure of their funds on the mission schools; and, if any faith is to be placed in Mr. Wilder's statement of facts, he had fairly and thoroughly made out that that was a blow all but fatal to the missions, inasmuch that the Board are now in the course of retracing their steps; and Mr. Wilder makes out, by hard and stubborn facts, that the policy assumed by the deputies had been all but fatal to the mission in India, and that by a variety of ways and by a variety of statistics; and he shows that real preaching,—preaching properly so called,—addressing not merely miscellaneous crowds, but people coming again and again to hear the gospel,—that real preaching was carried on most effectually, both among children and adults, wherever these educational movements were carried on, and where they have been suppressed, the missions could scarcely go on. Dr. Duff goes on to say,—“Mr. Nelder, of Kolapoor, (South Mahratta country,) has written at length in opposition to these views (those of the Deputation). He has also collected testimony from various other missionary laborers in India, of which the Committee present the following summary, mostly in Mr. Nelder's own words:—‘There are one Scotch missionary and nine English Church missionaries in the Bombay Presidency, all of whose theory and practice is opposed to the recent action of the Deputation, and the changes introduced in regard to schools. Fourteen European missionaries in this Presidency have given this testimony, and also all the missionaries of the London Missionary Society at Belgaum, Bellary, and Bangalore; also, seven of the most intelligent Christian laymen, making in all thirty, more than half of whom sent their testimony unsolicited. Is it right to persist in a system of measures condemned by the united and unanimous testimony of such a body of men in the field? In these you will find abundant testimony to the small apparent results of preaching compared with schools. Four or five faithful missionaries have spent their lives, or from ten to twenty years, almost exclusively in tours and oral preaching, without a single convert; also to the importance of good English schools in every mission in large towns, and to the necessity of vernacular schools,’ &c. What is thus emphatically testified to of Southern and Western India, accords much with our experience in Eastern and Northern India. The late Mr. Lacroix devoted thirty-six years exclusively to vernacular preaching in all parts of Bengal, with a capacity, and effectiveness, and zeal hitherto unrivalled amongst us. From his lips, not thousands merely, but scores of thousands, must have heard the gospel faithfully preached; and yet he died mourning over the fact that very few conversions, indeed, had ever been known to result from his faithful and assiduous ministrations.”

The Free Christian State and the Present Struggle.

AN ADDRESS

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

ASSOCIATION

OF THE

ALUMNI OF BOWDOIN COLLEGE,

BY

GEORGE L. PRENTISS,

AUGUST 8, 1861.

New-York :

PUBLISHED BY W. H. BIDWELL,

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1861.

BOWDOIN COLLEGE, August 8th, 1861.

REV. GEO. L. PRENTISS, D.D.:

DEAR SIR: At the close of the Address delivered by you this day, before the Association of the Alumni of Bowdoin College, it was voted unanimously, the audience rising in concurrence, "That the thanks of the Association be presented to the Rev. Dr. Prentiss, for his refreshing and eloquent Address on the Free Christian State, and a copy be requested for the press."

In behalf of the Alumni Association,

EGBERT C. SMYTH, *Secretary*.



NEWPORT, August 13th, 1861.

MY DEAR SIR: I cheerfully comply with the request of the Association of the Alumni, and hereby place the Address at their disposal.

Yours, most truly,

GEO. L. PRENTISS.

Prof. E. C. SMYTH, *Secretary*.

A D D R E S S .

MR. PRESIDENT AND BRETHREN OF THE ALUMNI :

It has been customary, on occasions like the present, to discuss some topic of general literary interest, or as was so happily done at your meeting three years ago,* to revive the pleasant memories and rehearse the honors of our *Alma Mater*. But I shall offer no apology for departing from this custom to-day. The stern realities of the hour suggest a subject coming home more directly to our business and bosoms. Heretofore we have met to look each other in the face and take sweet counsel together as old friends and sons of Bowdoin ; to-day we meet rather as fellow-citizens and common children of the imperilled republic ; and it is our country which claims our first and chief thought.

Without further preface, then, allow me to speak to you of the Free Christian State, as developed in the history and institutions of our Union, and of the dangers which beset it.† A free state is the grandest phenomenon of civilization. It is one of the rarest also. Of the

* In an address by Professor Packard, entitled, " Our Alma Mater. "

† I here use the word state, of course, in the most comprehensive sense, and include in it the family, and the temporal institution of the Church also. In its spiritual character, as " the mystical body of Christ, " the Church rises far above all earthly states, belongs to no country or age, and is identical with the everlasting kingdom of God.

host of governments which have risen and disappeared in the course of time, only one here and there could be called free. The same may be said of those now existing. Of the five great powers, for example, which rule the Old World, nobody, certainly, would pretend that more than one is, in the proper sense of the term, a free country. Certain forms and degrees of liberty exist, no doubt, in the other four, especially in France and Prussia. But in England alone is liberty fairly domesticated, guarded by law and incorporated with the whole life of the nation; in England alone is liberty a great popular institution and chartered right. And still it can not be denied that even in England we have but an imperfect specimen of civil liberty. The idea of a free, Christian state has never yet been absolutely realized, nor dare we expect it ever will be until that blessed consummation, predicted and longed for by saint and sage, when the reign of Divine Justice shall have been fully established on earth. In speaking of our own country, then, I shall be far enough from assuming that it is the ideal of a free or a Christian state. If it were, we should not be engaged in mortal struggle for its existence. In order to appreciate and enjoy our inestimable civil blessings, we need not claim a monopoly of them, nor that we possess them as yet, in all their perfection. This is no time to indulge in idle boasting and self-conceit. Freedom is one of the old, tutelary divinities of the race. We ought not to suppose that this is her only or her last abode. Enough that she has always loved to dwell here, and that here she inspired our fathers to rear for her a temple more capacious than was ever built before; an ever-expanding Union of well-ordered, constitutional government, which stretches already across the continent.

I shall attempt no elaborate analysis of the nature of

the state and of its different forms. The scope of my argument does not require it. There are certain great principles which lie at the foundation of all true government, whatever its name. They are common to monarchy and to the republic. The reason and experience of mankind agree in declaring them to be immutable. They cannot be set at naught without involving society itself in ruins. They are written in such large and plain characters on the whole course of nature, that he who runs may read them. They are as old as man; yea, as the throne of God. Such essential organizing principles are law, order, justice, obedience and truth. Without these, government is only another name for anarchy or despotism. They are the adamant pillars upon which repose all good things in earth and heaven. It is because the free Christian state is based upon and embodies such divine principles that we are entitled to call it the noblest phenomenon of civilization. In fact, it *is* civilization in visible strength, order and splendor. There is nothing else on earth so august or so puissant. It is the bright, consummate flower of a nation's life; "the Sabbath and port of all its labors and peregrinations." What varied powers conspire to form and enrich it! Nothing less than the intelligence, virtue, piety, industry, art, philosophy, learning and experience of the race. For, as it is the grandest, so also is it the slowest and most difficult growth of time. It is no exhalation of the morn, but ages are required to produce it. Ere it comes to its full birth, a people must have groaned and travailed together in pain for generations. It can no more be *improvised* than a personal character like Washington's, with all its wealth of ripened virtue and patriotism, can be formed in a day. How little the most thoughtful of us consider what a long and painful history lies back of every civil privilege we en-

joy ! through what storms, and over what rough seas society has reached one port of safety after another !

In passing now to the special topic of this address, let me prepare the way by substituting for a moment in place of that somewhat formal term, the State, the more familiar term, Our Country. This is a household word, and intelligible alike to man, woman and child. It recalls at once the magnificent heritage of government, freedom, intelligence and religion, bequeathed to us by our venerated ancestors. These, in truth, make our country. They are its spiritual essence, its living soul. They clothe it with dignity and honor. They render it an object second only to the Divine Government itself in its claim upon our love and self-devotion. What is our country but another name for constitutional liberty, for authority founded in truth and uprightness, for the family and the church, in a word, for all the precious immunities and privileges of Christian society ? Without these, it would be a mere geographical term, a name for so much area of land and water. But transfigured by these humanizing agencies, fashioned out of a rude mass of earth into stately forms of culture and civility, it rises far above all local description, and becomes the home and mighty rampart of our dearest rights and affections. It is a moral as well as physical entity ; and as such, can stretch forth its protecting arm to the ends of the earth. The starry emblem of its authority floats round the world. It is endowed with a kind of omnipresence ; for wherever beats the heart of a loyal American citizen, there is a pulsation of the nation's life. In this sense our country follows her children wherever they go. She attends the ministers of her will in royal and imperial courts. Whatever distant seas are ploughed by her ships of war, or of peaceful trade, her ægis is over them. She accompanies

our faithful missionaries as they go to plant the banner of the cross upon the strongholds of pagan error and superstition. She is, indeed, the strong protector, as she is the benignant mother, of us all. Allegiance to her is part of that religious fealty which we owe to the eternal Sovereign of the universe. Such is our country: the home and shrine of the sweetest charities and affections of our nature; the divinely appointed sphere of a thousand weighty duties; the guardian and pledge of our noblest temporal hopes and interests. Without it we should be shelterless, home-sick wanderers on the face of the earth; our social faculties, "rusting in us unused," would bear naught but thorns and thistles, instead of ripening into those generous public virtues which are the fountain of so much happiness and honor to the race; our high hopes for our children would vanish into thin air, or rather, they would be changed into gloomy fears and forebodings. Yes, robbed of our country, of its government and laws, its freedom and fair humanities, our condition would be as if

"The cloud-capped towers, the gorgeous palaces,
The solemn temples, the great globe itself;
Yea, all which it inherit, should dissolve."

This great American system of liberty and social order, like our mother tongue, is a marvellous composite of old and new. It is enriched by the spoils of all time. Hardly any great state, ancient or modern, but has contributed something to its generous and fair proportions. What would it be if bereft of all it owes to the legislation of Moses, and the Hebrew Scriptures; to the democratic spirit, literature, and heroic examples of Greece; or to the laws and jurisprudence of republican and imperial Rome? It strikes its roots deep into the mediæval and early Christian ages. The

best polities of modern Europe helped to form it. The fountain from which it drew, and still draws, its holiest principles and inspiration, is the New Testament.

Never since the beginning of the world was a people allowed ampler scope, freely to avail itself of all the lights of history, and all the aids of reflection, in constructing a system of national polity; and never had a people a richer experience of its own, or a more invaluable body of existing laws and institutions wherewith to give harmony, strength, and perpetuity to the new structure. For, undoubtedly, the power which, above all others, inspired and shaped our republican system was the old Anglican liberty, which our fathers brought with them across the ocean. This, together with the institutions which have given it its marvellous vitality and strength in the mother country, such as municipal and local self-government, the town-meeting, the county court, popular suffrage and representation, the common law, the constable, trial by jury, the local church, the college, the Puritan Sabbath, and the old English Bible—this was and is the noblest substance of our national life. It is a mistake to suppose that our liberty is the fruit of the Revolutionary war. In that war we fought for and won our Independence; but our most important liberties are a venerable heir-loom of the Anglo-Saxon race. They were won for us at Runnymede, and on many a later field, renowned in the annals of British freedom. They were among those “true, ancient, and indubitable rights and liberties” of the people of England, asserted and claimed in their memorable Bill of Rights. Our Declaration of Independence was virtually a reassertion of these same “ancient rights and liberties.” The Articles of Confederation were an attempt to combine and establish them in a “perpetual Union;” and finally the Constitution of the United

States organized them into our present system of national government. But, although the substance of our liberties was the most precious inheritance which the infant nation brought with it, I need not say how greatly they were increased and invigorated under the hardy discipline of the colonial period, and during the terrible trials of the war of Independence; or how, when the time was fully ripe, they were at length perfected in the great Constitution under which we now live. This Constitution was the work of men preëminent for public wisdom, zeal, prudence, and magnanimity; men deeply versed in the philosophy of government,

“ Looking before and after —— ”

Long reflection, aided by much study and experience, had endowed them with a political sagacity almost intuitive; and in all this they only represented the enlightened popular instincts of the country. A more upright, single-hearted, admirable body of patriots never sat in council. They were worthy to be presided over by Washington.

“ Great men were then among us ; hands that penned
And tongues that uttered wisdom ; better none.

They knew how genuine glory was put on ;
Taught us how rightfully a nation shone
In splendor.”

As we now look back and review their labors in the light of history, it seems little short of miraculous that they committed so few serious errors. The Constitution formed by these master-builders was intended, as has been intimated, to recapitulate and combine into one political system the substantial existing rights, liberties, and institutions of the country; adding what seemed needful and best fitted to crown the whole with

the unity, majesty, and force of national sovereignty. Such is the American Union. It took away from the several States little that had ever been theirs, except their weakness. It preserved and placed under better guaranties their local rights and authority. It *gave* them the freedom of the continent. This system has now been in operation nearly three quarters of a century, and its results are among the marvels of history. They have been the study of some of the deepest political thinkers and statesmen of modern times; and, I doubt not, Aristotle himself would have pondered them with wonder and delight. Never before was the spirit of democratic freedom and equality combined with the highest principles of law and authority in a manner so grand and effective.* Could the illustrious statesmen, who formed the Constitution, come back to earth, they would be lost in awe and amazement at the fruit of their own labors. Could the people of the United States, who ordained and established it, revisit the scenes so dear to them, they would fall upon their knees in adoration of that Almighty Providence which enabled them to transmit to their children such a matchless heritage. So it *would* have been a little while ago. *Now*, alas! their grateful wonder and adoration would be turned into speechless grief, as they saw a portion of their posterity scornfully trampling that goodly heritage under foot! For that *they* intended it should be

* The remarkable testimony of the Emperor of Russia, published since the delivery of this address, deserves to be here cited: "For the more than eighty years that it has existed, the American Union owes its independence, its towering rise, and its progress, to the concord of its members, consecrated, under the auspices of its illustrious founder, by institutions which have been able to reconcile the Union with liberty. This Union has been faithful. *It has exhibited to the world the spectacle of a prosperity without example in the annals of history.*"—Prince Gortschakoff's Letter of July 10.

perpetual, no candid student of American history can doubt for an instant. One might as reasonably doubt whether they expected the continent itself would be perpetual, or that their posterity would continue always to inhabit it. They had taken infinite pains to construct a permanent government; this had been, consciously or unconsciously, the aim of all their plans and toil; this was the ruling idea of the old Confederation. The articles constituting it were called "Articles of Perpetual Union;" and the last of them closes in this wise: "We do further solemnly plight and engage the faith of our respective constituents, . . . that these Articles shall be inviolably observed by the States we respectively represent, and that the Union shall be perpetual." The experience of the Revolutionary war, and of the sad years immediately following, demonstrated that the Union thus formed was incapable of self-perpetuation. It was tainted with an incurable weakness. The famous Convention of 1787 was assembled to remedy this defect; and on the completion of their work it was adopted by the whole nation as its own, in this simple but truly august style:

"WE, THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES, IN ORDER TO FORM A MORE PERFECT UNION, ESTABLISH JUSTICE, INSURE DOMESTIC TRANQUILLITY, PROVIDE FOR THE COMMON DEFENCE, PROMOTE THE GENERAL WELFARE, AND SECURE THE BLESSINGS OF LIBERTY TO OURSELVES AND OUR POSTERITY, DO ORDAIN AND ESTABLISH THIS CONSTITUTION FOR THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA."

He who can detect *secession* in this language, or in any of the articles which follow it, ought certainly to find no difficulty in proving from the Bible that there is no God! The Constitution, you perceive, did not pretend to *create* the Union, but only to render it more perfect. On this point it may be worth while

to cite the very first sentences of the *Federalist*, written, as you know, by Hamilton, Madison and Jay, and addressed to the people of New-York: "After full experience of the insufficiency of the existing Federal Government, you are invited to deliberate upon a new Constitution for the United States of America. The subject speaks its own importance; comprehending in its consequences nothing less than the existence [not the creation] of the Union; the safety and welfare of the parts of which it is composed; the fate of an empire, in many respects, the most interesting in the world." In the second number we read: "It is worthy of remark, that not only the first, but every succeeding Congress, as well as the late Convention, have invariably joined with the people in thinking that the prosperity of America depended on its Union. To preserve and perpetuate it was the great object of the people in forming that Convention; and it is also the great object of the plan which the Convention has advised them to adopt. . . . They who promote the idea of substituting a number of distinct confederacies in the room of the plan of the Convention, seem clearly to foresee that the rejection of it would put the continuance of the Union in the utmost jeopardy; that certainly would be the case; and I sincerely wish that it may be as clearly foreseen by every good citizen, that whenever the dissolution of the Union arrives, America will have reason to exclaim, in the words of the poet:

'FAREWELL! A LONG FAREWELL TO ALL MY GREATNESS!'

Having alluded to the *Federalist*, let me add that the statesmanlike pleas of this noble work in behalf of the Union, and its vivid pictures of the perils and woes of disunion, would still form one of the best pos-

sible tracts for the times. It seems as if the chapters, "Concerning dangers from war between the States," "The effects of internal war in producing standing armies, and other institutions unfriendly to liberty," "The utility of the Union as a safeguard against domestic faction and insurrection," were written yesterday, rather than seventy years ago, so applicable are they to the present crisis.

The politicians who favored the theory of distinct, independent confederacies—a theory never heard of until engendered amidst the heated and angry disputes consequent upon the Convention of '87—opposed the new Constitution on the express ground that, once adopted, it for ever closed the door against their favorite doctrine. I doubt if the most diligent research among the newspapers, pamphlets, popular addresses, and debates in State conventions during the period in question, would discover a single passage—I do not say by an eminent statesman or publicist, but a single passage by any body, the most obscure partisan—asserting the right of a State, once in the new Union, to leave it at pleasure. No such right was maintained in respect of the existing Union. The only way, I repeat it, in which the advocates of distinct confederacies hoped to carry out their theory, was by letting the old Union, already little better than a wreck, go to pieces; once embarked in the "more perfect Union," which they saw to be staunch, oak-ribbed and well manned, built on purpose to plough the vast sea of time, with *E Pluribus Unum* emblazoned upon its star-spangled banner—once embarked in this strong constitutional Union, they knew full well that the States must sail on together, and share a common destiny.

But even were it true that in forming this more perfect Union, the American people had no distinct inten-

tion that it should be perpetual, such appears very plainly to have been the intention of nature and Providence. There's a divinity that shapes the ends of States as of individuals, rough-hew them as they will. The contingent and unconscious forces that impel a nation forward in its predestined path, are hardly less important than those which proceed of deliberate choice and design. Had the authors of the *Federalist* foreseen that in less than half a century it would be easier to send a message from New-York to Portland or Savannah than it then was to send a message from New-York to Hoboken, that a journey from New-York to Philadelphia would be made in less time than was then required to go to a neighboring village; had they foreseen that in less than three quarters of a century time and distance would be virtually annihilated, and the Atlantic and Pacific oceans brought, as it were, within sound of each other's voices, their arguments for the Union and the Constitution, founded upon the configuration of the continent and the designs of Providence, would have possessed to their minds all the force of a mathematical demonstration. The steamboat, the railroad, and the magnetic telegraph have already so reduced the scale of distances, and brought the remotest points of the Union into such neighborly relations, that the whole country is now in reality hardly less compact, and the different parts of its population in hardly less close connection with each other, than was the case with the Empire State and the different portions of its population on the day when Washington was inaugurated as our first President. These mighty instruments of national and social advancement have facilitated the extension and onward march of the Republic, in a manner undreamt of by the most far-sighted among its founders; they have fur-

nished invincible reasons why it should remain for ever one and indivisible, which the boldest prophet of its future greatness would then have pronounced altogether visionary. This is only a specimen of what time, or rather let us say, what Providence, has done to justify the wisdom of our sires. But, in truth, all the capital inventions and improvements, the whole progress of the past eighty years, whether in agriculture, navigation, manufactures, mining, and the mechanic acts; in education, in political and social science, in literature, in public journalism, or in the sphere of religion and Christian philanthropy—all have fallen in with the growth of the Union, adding at once to its power and beneficence.

The American Union, I am aware, has been widely regarded by foreigners, and sometimes at home also, as an exceedingly artificial system; as having no proper centre; and sure, therefore, sooner or later, to break in pieces. It has been supposed to be the product of mere political theory and calculation rather than the natural, organic development of national life. Whether or not this is so, is the momentous question now wavering in the balance. It does not become us to dogmatize too confidently upon a point which the inexorable logic of events is hastening to decide. But for my own part I still hold, with unfaltering conviction, that our Union, as a whole and in all its parts, is in an extraordinary degree the genuine outgrowth of the race and the soil, and that it could not have been materially different from what it is without being in conflict with its own history and vital principles. It was ordained from the beginning to be a free, self-governing, representative republic;—a democratic, Christian commonwealth.

I do not believe there is a state in Christendom, or

that there was a state in the ancient world, not excepting Greece and Rome, marked by a more distinct or a more potential and exuberant individual life. Whether we watch it emerging on the Rock of Plymouth to take possession of the continent, or at a later age see it, grown hardy by suffering and toil, rising up to wrest its independence from the strong arm of England, and then reorganizing its institutions and liberties in a new Magna Charta; or follow it, still advancing in its wonderful career, during the past seventy years, it is always and every where the same free, progressive, self-reliant, practical and yet ideal power; full of infinite resource and versatility; honoring the past, master of the present, abounding in hope; a power equally at home in field and forest, in work-shop, counting-room or study, on land and ocean, around the fireside and at the altar—conscious of a great mission for the good of man and the glory of God, and resolved to fulfil it, let who and what will oppose.

The finest personal character is one in which the spontaneous and voluntary elements, the fresh, genial impulses of youth and the reflective wisdom of age are most perfectly blended; or, to express it differently, in which intelligent plan shapes and directs, without repressing, the warm, vital forces of the soul; for these are, so to say, the capital and reserved fund of all grand characters. Now the state has its peculiar life as well as the individual, and the perfect development of that life in both is subject to conditions not dissimilar. In the state, too, there should be a harmonious blending of the spontaneous and the deliberate, wise counsel and choice, inspired by great national sentiments and traditions. I admit that in forming the Constitution of the United States there was a high exercise of political reflection and choice; but it was reflection based upon a profound acquaint-

ance with the history, institutions, and spirit of the country; it was a choice full of purest zeal for the general good, a choice guided by the public reason and actuated by the popular will, a choice and reflection, in fine, which embodied the inmost thought and desire of the whole nation; so that the Constitution is as real a product and exponent of the character and mind of the American people as the treatises on the *Freedom of the Will* and the *Religious Affections* are a true expression of the intellect and piety of the great theologian of New-England, or as *Paradise Lost* is a faithful reflection of the epic genius of Milton. There is a sense, unquestionably, in which our system of government may be fairly described as artificial and complicate. But is not this true of the best things in the world? The higher you rise in the sphere of individual or social life, the more numerous the elements and conditions of excellence, the more numerous the checks and counter-checks, the wheels within wheels. The life of a plant is far simpler than that of a bird; the life of an insect than that of a child; and the life of a child than that of a man. The nobler the life, the more its organs and modes of expression are enriched and multiplied. What an exceedingly artificial and complicate piece of workmanship is the human eye! It seems as if the Divine Artist himself must have paused to reflect and choose before fashioning such a peerless window for admitting and emitting light and beauty! Consider any eminently original and perfect type of character, whether of manhood or saintliness, and I am sure you will find what I have been saying verified to the letter. Such a character is the rare product of varied forces; and it impresses us with admiration, because it has had the will and the skill to combine and shape these varying, oft opposing, forces,

reason, understanding, fancy, sentiment, experience, age, country, circumstances, good and ill, into one symmetrical, finished whole, into the living hero, patriot, or sage. Now the free State is, as I have said, the grandest work of man; it is the hiding-place and strength of a nation's life, the *house not made with hands*, in which its successive generations find shelter, protection, and a home, on their way to eternity. It establishes for them justice; insures their domestic tranquillity; provides for their common defence; promotes their general welfare; and secures the blessings of liberty to them and their posterity. What a vast, powerful, and wisely-ordered system it must needs be to execute such a task as this without weariness, from age to age, even as the heavenly bodies move on in their benignant courses! What strong diversities must help to form and buttress this sublime unity! "Every free government"—I quote one of the weightiest sentences of Daniel Webster—"Every free government is necessarily complicated, because all such governments establish restraints as well on the power of government itself as on that of individuals. If we will abolish the distinction of branches, and have but one branch; if we will abolish jury trials, and leave all to the judge; if we will then ordain that the legislator shall himself be the judge; and if we place the executive power in the same hands, we may readily simplify government. We may easily bring it to the simplest of all forms, a pure despotism."

But "the American Union," it is said further, "has no *centre*; and it is impossible now to make one. The more they extend their border into the Indian's land, the weaker will the national cohesion be."* This ob-

* Coleridge's *Table Talk*, vol. ii. p. 53. He adds: "But I look upon the States as splendid masses, to be used, by and by, in the composition of

jection seems to me to overlook the peculiar constitution of American society, and the difference between a visible, or formal, centre, and a *central principle*; in other words, the principle of nationality. The latter certainly belongs to the Union in a very high degree; and is not that the strongest bond of "national cohesion"? So far from growing weaker, has it not grown more powerful as we have extended our border into the Indian's land? Are Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, and Kansas, or even California and Oregon, less patriotic than Maine, and New-York, and New-Jersey? Are the Alleghanies or the Rocky Mountains any barrier to the free, centripetal forces of the Republic? The truth is, the centre of our Union is everywhere; it cannot from its very nature be strictly and fully localized; it is, like our self-government, a diffused, omnipresent principle, or, as is said of the soul, it is *all in every part*. And yet, in the ordinary sense of the term, has not the Union quite as much of a centre as Switzerland, one of the oldest and toughest nationalities of Europe? But I have no time to dwell longer upon these points, although they merit a much fuller discussion.

Thus far I have spoken chiefly in terms of praise and

two or three great governments." A few months later he says: "The possible destiny of the United States of America, as a nation of a hundred millions of freemen, stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, living under the laws of Alfred, and speaking the language of Shakspeare and Milton, is an august conception. *Why should we not wish to see it realized?* America would then be England viewed through a solar microscope; Great Britain in a state of glorious magnification." What a contrast between this generous catholic spirit and that which, since our troubles began, has breathed in the *London Times*, *Saturday Review*, and other anti-American organs of English public opinion! The malicious glee with which this most influential section of the British press has calumniated, ridiculed, and mocked at the American people in this day of their calamity, is a disgrace to the civilization and humanity of the age.

honor, as the purpose of my address naturally led me to do. But I am far, indeed, from thinking that our political system is perfect even in theory, much less that it has been so in practice. The best institutions are liable to be abused even as the very truth of God may be changed into a lie. Nothing in this world is perfect; no work of man which is not tainted with moral evil and does not share in its dread penalties. The old providential laws are still in full force; and no government is so well constituted or so strong as to be able to violate them with impunity. The conditions of true national prosperity are exceedingly severe, and they do not change. The divine Nemesis, which executes judgment upon the sins of states and nations, never stops to ask whether they bear the name of democracy or of monarchy; whether they belong to the Anglo-Saxon or any other race. *Die Welt-geschichte ist das Welt-gericht.* It were folly to deny that during the last quarter of a century—not to go further back—vices of the worst sort have been preying upon our national life. The sacred ideas of law, government, and patriotism have suffered a fearful eclipse. A reckless, unscrupulous and venal temper has shown itself in every department of public affairs. The energy of the moral forces of the State has been altogether inadequate to restrain or serve as a counterpoise to the high-pressure activity and excitement of the material forces. The process of political degeneracy has been rapid and overwhelming. From standing very high in the estimation of wise and good men abroad, our country has become the object of wide-spread and growing dislike in the old world. The revolution of European public opinion respecting us, since De Tocqueville published his celebrated work, is something hard to be believed by any one who has not himself had occasion actually

to witness and feel it. The sins of old, worn-out despotisms, it is alleged, have reappeared, full-blown, in our young republic. We have developed, it is said, a precocity in political vice and corruption, which shows plainly that we are rotting before we are ripe. That there has been too much occasion for these grave charges, is indisputable. I will not go into details. This is not the place; nor would I like to trust myself to say all that might truly be said on this subject. I will merely mention, by way of illustration, the huge system of corruption, bribery and swindling connected with the municipal government of our commercial metropolis and with the public legislation at Washington, Albany and elsewhere; the scandal of repudiation, the rapidly-increasing sale of votes, the barbarous spoils-system, with the frenzied greed and scramble for office engendered by it; the Border-ruffian scenes and elections in Kansas; the vulgar and brutal outbreaks in Congress; the dearth of eminent statesmen, and the multiplication of political demagogues; the wholesale prosecution of the African slave-trade, under the protection of the American flag; fillibusterism, Floydism, and the new gospel of the divine institution, beneficence and unlimited extension of negro slavery. These are some of the things which have shaken the faith of foreign nations, and to a certain extent, our own faith, in the wisdom and perpetuity of our democratic institutions. They are evils which the founders of the Union neither foresaw, nor could provide against. They have sprung in part from that abuse of freedom which nothing but the highest popular virtue and intelligence can resist, and partly from causes lying deep in human nature, in the circumstances of the country and the times; and in all exercise of power by selfish, erring mortals. It is impossible rightly to understand the present crisis with-

out carefully studying them. They have been slowly and stealthily preparing the mine which has now exploded with such terrific effect. It was in the abominable school of Mississippi repudiation in which he took his first lessons and made his earliest appearance in public life ; it was in advocating the immoral doctrine that "one generation can not bind another," that Mr. Jefferson Davis was trained to be the leader of a titanic conspiracy for repudiating the government and constitution of his country, with all the oaths and promises which bound him to it. It was in cheering on "the gray-eyed man of destiny," William Walker, and in splendid dreams of seizing Cuba and Central America, that other of these Southern leaders learned to think so lightly of stealing the property and assailing the life of our Union. What atmosphere but one laden with the malaria of political sophistry and corruption could have engendered that wholesale *perjury* on the part of our public men, especially officers of the national army and navy, which has appalled Christendom ? To show what the new-fangled doctrine of slavery and its unlimited extension has done to demoralize the country and plunge it into this Red sea of trouble, would require a book instead of a passing sentence. Let us be thankful that the dreadful malady, of which these things are symptoms, is at last forced out upon the surface, and that we know now what it is and how to treat it. We see plainly that it is an evil *ense recidendum* ; no gentler method will conquer it.

And this brings us to another point in our discussion.

I have shown that the Union was intended by the people who formed it, and that it seems quite as clearly intended by nature and Providence to be perpetual. But the practical question, after all, is : Do the American people now upon the stage, the trustees and usu-

fructuaries of this glorious heritage, intend that it shall be perpetual? Are they resolved and able to execute the will of the generations that have gone before them, to carry out the designs of nature and Providence? or will they prove recreant to the tremendous charge? Life and death are set before them: which will they choose? The history of the world affords few instances in which a great people have been so distinctly summoned to face this awful issue. And a few months ago, it must be confessed, the most hopeful had reason for deep misgiving as to the result. It seemed almost as if the nation were really about to abdicate its imperial sovereignty, to bare its bosom to the assassin's dagger, and so die in shame and despair. A kind of moral asphyxia had seized it; and there it lay, month after month, prostrate, and jeered at by the unnatural men whom it had brought up as children and crowned with its fairest honors; its authority defied, its forts and arsenals seized, its money stolen, its renowned flag trampled in the dust, its credit gone, and all the world echoing to the scornful exclamation: *The great Democratic bubble has burst! The model Republic is no more!* When in the early spring the correspondent of the London *Times* passed through New-York, he found the leading citizens, as he avers, in a state of easy indifference, eating and drinking, marrying and giving in marriage, even as the prophetic word tells us it will be at the coming of the Son of Man to judge the world. But we know very well now that all this was an illusion; the dead calm which precedes the whirlwind.

The nation was certainly perplexed in the extreme; but this perplexity was the effect in part of its unsuspecting, magnanimous temper, and partly of the mental confusion caused by the staggering blows of treason. All perplexity, however, was annihilated by the bom-

bardment of Fort Sumter. As the report of that ruthless cannonade reverberated through the land, it was as if the trump of God had sounded. The nation started up like a man inspired. Its self-consciousness, too long darkened by the strifes of party and absorption in material interests, returned again *as the morning, fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners*. The old, ancestral spirit was reënthroned; the selfish passions, delusions and prejudices of years were swept away in an instant, and from that hour to this the loyal American people, being of one heart and one mind, have been marching right onward for the defence and salvation of the Republic. The assault upon Fort Sumter was not, of course, the cause, it was only the occasion of this miraculous uprising. During the whole winter the way had been preparing for it. The months of November and December, 1860, and of January, February and March, 1861, will not easily pass out of the memory of the American people. They were the Valley Forge of our political history. How like a horrid incubus they pressed upon the popular heart! Our manhood as well as our nationality seemed about to abandon us. We saw the Union going upon the rocks, piloted by a perjured band of wreckers; we saw them tearing down the old flag and spitting upon it in disdain; we heard them, as they betook themselves to the boats, and hastened away to their confederates, shouting in derision that the gallant ship which our fathers built to sail on for ever, was scuttled past help, and would never again ride the ocean wave; we saw and heard all this. Yet the world moved on as aforetime; no sign in the heavens betokened that the avenging thunderbolts were about to descend; the triumph of mingled treachery and imbecility appeared complete.

What a picture history will give of this period of crime, infamy, and cowardice ! Alas ! for the chief conspirators and their abettors when she shall one day draw them at full length, and set them in everlasting colors upon her awful canvas ! Well might they pray to have their names effaced for ever from the memory of the Republic !

The twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth days of April last seem to lie back many years, and the gloomy months preceding are as the days before the flood. Since November, 1860, the nation has been taught, and has in a measure marked, learned, and inwardly digested great permanent lessons of truth and duty, which, under ordinary circumstances, could hardly have been taught and learned in half a century. How plainly we now see that government is an ordinance of God, founded in eternal justice ; that it is not mere influence, nor moral suasion, nor moral reform ; but sovereign authority, armed with divine sanctions, and the sword of vengeance ; that while light to the obedient, it is like lightning to evil-doers ! How plainly we now see that to prostitute this great institution of God to purposes of political corruption, money-making, and self-aggrandizement, is a kind of sacrilege : it is as if the ordinance of marriage were converted into an instrument of lust and adultery ; we have learnt, too, that solemn oaths, unless vivified by the fear of God, will turn to perjury when the day of trial comes, for which they are recorded in heaven ; we have learnt that the price of liberty is, in very deed, eternal vigilance ; and that the neglect of their civil duties by the cultivated, wealthy, and influential classes of society, whether from the mad pursuit of gain, love of ease, dislike to political noise and strife, religious scruples, or whatever other motive, is a high offence against the state and against heaven. The

American people, in a word, have been taught to see that government is something infinitely deeper and higher than the dogmas and triumph of party, the election of Presidents, and all the outward forms and machinery of political action. Never were they better prepared than now to heed the exhortation of the old Puritan poet and patriot, George Wither :

“ Let not your King and Parliament in one,
 Much less apart, mistake themselves for that
 Which is most worthy to be thought upon ;
 Nor think *they* are, essentially, the State.
 Let them not fancy, that the authority
 And privileges upon them bestown,
 Conferred are to set up a majesty,
 A power, or a glory, of their own !
 But let them know, 't was for a deeper life,
 Which they but represent—
 That there's on earth a YET AUGUSTER THING,
 Veiled though it be, than Parliament and King.”

And while the nation has laid to heart these general lessons of political truth and duty, how fast has it learnt to understand the strange events of the day ! What six months ago was deemed a problem too hard to solve, needs no solution now. What then puzzled the understanding of statesmen, scarce puzzles that of children to-day. Read over the messages, speeches, sermons, and editorials about “ coercion,” which last winter flooded the land, and it will seem next to impossible that so short a period separates now and then. Never before, perhaps, did a nation make such rapid strides in tearing off the coils of political sophistry, casting aside selfish party issues, and educating itself for the sublime work of its own salvation. No thoughtful person, it seems to me, can regard it otherwise than as a special providence of the Almighty. But yesterday, as it were, the whole country was thrown into a state of nervous agitation, and the ancient Commonwealth

of Virginia aroused to the highest pitch of angry excitement because of a rumor that one of the guns of Fortress Monroe was pointing *inland*! A great many guns of Fortress Monroe, as well as elsewhere in and about the "Old Dominion," are now pointing inland, and are likely to point that way for a long time, not according to a vague rumor, but by the solemn order and determination of the Government and people of the United States. But yesterday, as it were, *coercion* had been played with such a cunning and masterly hand, appealing now to the noblest sentiments of Christian charity and patriotism, now to the natural horror of war and bloodshed, and then to fear, avarice, personal ambition, and party prejudice; clothing itself now in the plausible dress of State Rights and constitutional argument, and anon of political expediency—*coercion*, I say, had at length come to signify to myriads of wise and loyal citizens something most oppressive, reckless, and cruel. How many wise and loyal American citizens do you think there *now* are to whom *coercion* has any other meaning than rightful authority, government, the Constitution, the Union, and the enforcement of the laws? But yesterday, as it were, the heresy of *secession*, ("a word," as the Nestor of the American Bar, Mr. Binney, has so happily said, "to drug the consciences of ignorant men who are averse to treason,") this baleful heresy, had stolen into the Legislative Halls and Cabinet Council of the country, squatting at first like a toad, to drop its poisonous suggestions into the unsuspecting popular ear, half-seducing the aged Chief Magistrate himself into its toils, then boldly avowing itself in presence of the astounded nation, and challenging the Government to coerce or resist it! What to the American people is "*secession*" *now*—now that it has been compelled to throw off all disguise, stand up before the

world in its proper character, and enter upon the execution of its long-laid plans? It is what Satan appeared at the touch of Ithuriel's spear—a lying fiend and rebel, a most crafty conspirator against sleeping innocence, against the hopes of humanity, and the righteous order of the world; a spirit of ambitious hate and disobedience, that “would rather reign in hell than serve in heaven.” They regard secession, in a word, as a gigantic crime, without a parallel on this continent, and with few parallels in the history of the world; a crime second only to that which should attempt to subvert the divine government itself. It is a crime against our canonized forefathers. It is a crime against the living nation. It is a crime greater still against unborn generations, and against the human race. Such is the opinion which the American people now hold of secession. They regard it as a deadly heresy in point of law, and as wicked treason and rebellion in point of fact. They believe that unless it is put down, both the constitution and the nation must perish; that unless they conquer it, it will conquer and ruin them. In this faith there is little difference between the learned and the plain people; between farmers, merchants, mechanics, professional men and politicians; between native and foreign-born citizens; between Roman Catholics and Protestants. In this faith some two hundred thousand of them, without respect of party, nativity, or religion, have willingly offered their lives to their country, and are already marshaled into the great army of the Union; and hundreds of thousands more are ready to do the same. They look with horror upon the fruits secession has already borne, the crimes it has committed, the reign of terror it has instituted, and the merciless hypocrisy and falsehood by which it has deceived and precipitated into utter anarchy and

woe millions of the people. They contemplate with still deeper horror the prospect of its becoming, as it must and will if suffered to live, a consolidated military despotism, based upon negro slavery as its corner-stone, actuated by a contemptuous hatred of free labor and free society, by boundless ambition and lust of territorial aggrandisement, and thus establishing itself as a foreign nation from the shores of the Chesapeake across the continent, holding the Gulf of Mexico and the mouth of the Mississippi, and dictating law to Cuba, Mexico, and Central America. They would deem the abandonment of this immense territory to Spain or Austria a lesser calamity and peril. Hence it is, they have made up their mind, with the blessing of Almighty God, to put down this rebellion, liberate the loyal citizens of the South from its iron despotism, plant again the Stars and Stripes over every fort and city from the Chesapeake to the Rio Grande, or sacrifice their all in the attempt; and this they have resolved to do, not in malice, not in revenge, not in wrath, but in defence of republican freedom, and as a solemn duty to themselves and their posterity. And never surely did the fires of patriotic devotion burn with a purer or more intense flame in the palmiest days of Greece or Rome, of Italy, Holland, England, or any other land rendered classic by struggles for freedom and national existence. The sentiment which glowed with such fervor in the heart of the pious Israelite finds a faithful echo to-day in the hearts of millions of the American people: *If I forget thee, O Jerusalem! let my right hand forget its cunning; if I do not remember thee, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, if I prefer not Jerusalem above my chief joy.* They regard it as a sacred debt which they owe to the past and the future—a debt of gratitude to their honored forefathers, and a

debt of service to their posterity — to save this free, Christian Republic from the destruction which threatens it. They form the mystic bridge across which, if at all, its untold treasures, accumulated by the toil, the blood, and the wisdom of many ages, must be conveyed to enrich and bless the generations yet unborn. For it is a radical mistake to fancy that the life-and-death struggle, in which we are now engaged, involves our *political* institutions merely; it involves not less our domestic, social, and religious institutions. These are so vitally bound up with those, that it is not possible to separate them; you might as well attempt to separate the heart or brain from the flesh and bones of the natural body; each is essential to the other; each is animated by the same inspired breath of freedom; each rests upon the strong foundation of general law and order; all together form our great Christian state, our national commonwealth. It is American civilization itself, then, that is at stake. To me, at least, it seems as certain as the course of nature, that the nefarious heresy and rebellion which has plunged us already into such an abyss of trouble, would, if successful, utterly demoralize the spirit and character of the American people. It would be a blow to their Christian virtue and manhood so staggering that a century could scarce enable them to recover from it. It would infuse a fatal poison into their moral life-blood. Religion and learning, as well as freedom and humanity, would never cease to weep over their fall. It is not only a question whether at the bidding of a band of detestable conspirators the American people shall divide their ancient inheritance and break in pieces the substantial unity of the nation; it is also and especially the question whether, directly or indirectly, they shall stamp with their approval a doctrine and a crime, which laughs to scorn the

sanctity of oaths, turns to mockery the obligations of covenanted faith, and places the existence of society itself at the mercy of disappointed politicians and ambitious, profligate demagogues. Under certain circumstances, at the entreaty of one of your children, you might reluctantly consent to a division of your estate, which yet you regarded as fraught with much evil to all concerned; but would you do so, could you do so without utter shame and self-debasement, under the pressure of a threat that if you did not, your parental authority should be set at naught, the old homestead burnt to ashes, your other children defrauded of their rights, and the desired portion taken by force? After an arrangement based upon such terms, what would be likely to become of your domestic government? How much dignity, order, and peace; how much filial reverence, would henceforth mark your family life? It seems to me, I repeat it, that the contest which has been so ruthlessly forced upon us, is as truly for our social and religious, as for our political blessings. There is not a single one of the great chartered rights and privileges, purchased for us by the toil and sacrifices of the immortal dead, which is not imperiled by this rebellion. This may not appear on the surface; but penetrate to the heart of the matter and you will find that it is even so, nothing more, nothing else. Every nerve and fibre of American life is bound up with the life of the Union. The national government, viewed in the most formal and abstract way, is yet like the shell of the tortoise, which shelters, guards, and conserves the whole organism within. What would become of the living creature were this protective covering crushed and torn off? And what would become of the vital organism of American society, with its thousand tender and sacred offices, if no longer sheltered and shielded

by the Constitution and the laws, it were exposed to the assaults of the rude anarchic elements? Let us not delude ourselves. The peril which besets us is a peril to all that we hold most dear. Whether this free, Christian country, in whose earth sleeps the dust of so many wise and good men; whose air has been vocal, from the landing of the Pilgrims until now, with the prayers and praises of innumerable saints; whose history has been so full of providence and so prophetic of a grand, benignant future; which has already sent out its boughs unto the sea and its branches unto the river;—whether it is to be handed down to coming generations mutilated and dishonored, a mere fragment of its former self, so that all the world shall mock at it, or, in unshorn strength and beauty, a still mightier organ of human happiness and the glory of God; *this* is the momentous point now to be decided, and for whose decision the hosts of the republic have gathered themselves to battle.

I do not for an instant forget that war, above all, such a war as this, is an unspeakable calamity. It is enough to shake the stoutest heart to look it in the face. There are thousands of families in the farthest North and East, still more in the Middle and Western Free States, which are connected by innumerable tender ties of blood and affection with every part of the South; while in the States of Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri, not to mention others, the effect of the war has been, in the fearful language of Scripture, to *set a man at variance against his father, and the daughter against her mother, and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law. And a man's foes are they of his own household.* It is a horrible thing; and every good man must pray fervently that the days of this distress may be shortened, but shortened by the

speedy triumph of the righteous cause and the restitution of national authority throughout the length and breadth of the land. Be this grand consummation, however, near or far off, be the path which leads to it through a narrow or a wide sea of trouble, the blessing will still be worth a hundredfold more than it will cost. Has it not been so in all our history and in the history of the race? When was the vindication and triumph of a great principle unattended by heavy sacrifices? When did Christian society make a large advance without first vanquishing a host of enemies? Think what it cost our fathers to fight through the long war of independence; how much precious blood, how much personal and domestic suffering, what losses, what disappointments! But then think what plentiful harvests of public and private blessing their children and children's children have been reaping from those bitter seeds all these threescore years and ten! Remember that we do not enjoy to-day a solitary civil or religious privilege which is not perfumed with the heroic and suffering virtues of former times; not one which did not cost blood, treasure, and painful toil; not one which would ever have been ours had not our patriotic and godly ancestors lived not for themselves but for their posterity. It was not for themselves, it was for their children chiefly, that the Pilgrim Fathers and mothers became exiles in Holland, and then crossed the ocean to lay the foundation of an ampler order of humanity upon the desolate shores and in the savage wilderness of the new world. It was for us rather than themselves that the adventurous and brave settlers of Virginia and New-York laid the foundations of commercial and political empire. It was, in a word, for their children rather than themselves that all our fathers, of whatever name or nation, felled the aboriginal

forests, drove out the heathen before them, and sowed broadcast over the continent the prolific seeds of Law, Religion, Freedom, Intelligence, domestic Joy, and virtuous Industry. It was for us that Washington, and all his sage and valiant compatriots, labored, struggled, thought and spoke. And what eminently wise and good men, in Church and State, have ever since been working on in the self-same spirit, still spending and being spent for our sakes and not their own! And now in turn the solemn task is devolved upon us. We are summoned by Divine Providence to see to it that, in spite of all opposition, the immortal work still goes forward. The task, I admit, is formidable beyond expression. Our fathers never encountered such a pitiless storm of sedition and treason as now beats upon us; none of them ever faced a moment so big with issues, good or bad for the human race. If our Washington himself, leaving for a while his eternal rest, should come back to be our Leader, and if the most renowned statesmen of his and later times, Hamilton, Jefferson, John Jay, Madison, Franklin, Pinckney, Marshall, Andrew Jackson, Henry Clay, and the Defender of the Constitution, were to be his counsellors, their combined wisdom, unaided by *the wisdom that is from above*, would not rise to the height of our troubles. Nothing, nothing but the guiding hand and inspiration of Almighty Providence can carry us triumphantly through this crisis. Assuming, as we fairly may, that our armies, under their aged and their youthful chieftains, the illustrious Scott (God bless him!) and the gifted McClellan, will wipe out the memory of the recent defeat and be crowned with complete victory; assuming that their career is to be marked henceforth by all the discipline, valor, and humanity which we desire to see adorning our citizen-soldiery, still, what consum-

mate prudence and good sense, what honest tact, what magnanimity, what fairness and equity, in a word, what thoroughly statesmanlike and Christian wisdom will be required to readjust and settle the affairs of the nation in the right way! Not less than that which brought order out of the chaos that preceded the first inauguration of Washington. But the very magnitude of the task should stimulate us to tenfold zeal and effort so to perform it that our work shall be forever memorable and resplendent in the history of eminent, faithful service done to God and man. It is a truly Apocalyptic contest, and we may well believe that heaven as well as earth is looking on with eager eye. What the issue shall be, we know not; it is in the hands of God; but the interests involved are so momentous, and the contending forces so gigantic, that the issue, be it what it may, must needs travel far and wide over the world and far down the track of time. It is an epochal period; the very days and hours seem to fly past freighted with historic import. Beyond a doubt, it is a chief turning-point in our destiny as a people; but whether the turning-point of destruction or of a new creation, we cannot tell. And yet, even at such a time as this, it is a primal duty to hope—especially, to hope in Him before whom all nations are as nothing. For one I believe we shall live and not die. I believe these agonies through which we are passing, are not of dissolution, but the birth-throes of a renovated and higher life. I can never think that He, who led our fathers like a flock, is going to abandon us in this perilous hour. He has a thousand times more interest in this land than we have. He has been here from the beginning. He will be here, with His church, long after we are dead. What hands but His reared this vast asylum and city of refuge for the poor and oppressed millions of the

old continent? What wisdom but His planned and planted here, midway between Asia and Europe, this growing Temple of Freedom and Humanity, this Pharos to all benighted and tempest-tost nations? And will He now look on and see mad, rebellious hands raze it to the ground? I cannot believe it. I cannot think He is going to destroy a country, which, however grievous may have been its faults and follies, was nevertheless cradled in Christian faith, and is still the home of millions of men, women, and children, whose constant prayer is, that in all its parts, North and South, East and West, and among all classes of its population, black or white, bond and free, His blessed kingdom may come and His will be done as it is done in heaven.

Let us not, then, despair of the Republic. Let us abide steadfast in the faith that it will outride the present as it has outridden all lesser storms, and that, purified and ennobled by adversity, "casting far from it the rags of its former vices," and inspired more and more by the divine principles in which it was founded, it shall approximate ever nearer to the perfect ideal of a Free, Christian State, and armed with

Sovereign Law, that State's collective will,
 O'er thrones and globes elate
 Sit Empress, crowning good, repressing ill.

Our Alma Mater.

AN

ADDRESS

DELIVERED BEFORE

THE ASSOCIATION

OF

THE ALUMNI OF BOWDOIN COLLEGE,

BY

ALPHEUS S. PACKARD,

AUGUST 5, 1858.

BRUNSWICK:

PUBLISHED BY J. GRIFFIN.

1858.

BOWDOIN COLLEGE, AUG. 5, 1858.

PROF. A. S. PACKARD.

Dear Sir,—At the close of the very acceptable Address delivered by you, this day, before the Association of the Alumni of Bowdoin College, upon motion of Hon. Charles S. Daveis, LL.D., it was voted, unanimously,

“That the cordial thanks of the Association be presented to Prof. Packard for his excellent, appropriate and expressive Address, delivered on this occasion, and a copy be requested for the Press.”

With sentiments of high regard,

Very truly yours,

EGBERT C. SMYTH,

Secretary of the Alumni Association.

BOWDOIN COLLEGE, AUG. 12, 1858.

My dear Sir,

I submit the Address delivered before the Association of the Alumni on the fifth instant to their disposal.

Faithfully yours,

A. S. PACKARD.

PROF. E. C. SMYTH, Secretary.

A D D R E S S .

Mr. President and Brethren of the Alumni,—
I should not have undertaken the office of addressing you on this occasion, had I supposed that the main interest or the success of this first gathering under the renewal, after several years interruption, of our Association of the Alumni, would depend upon the public discourse. The occasion of itself speaks to us with a power which no formal rhetoric can reach. We meet as brethren, sons of the same benignant mother, who from homes, near or remote, after years of absence, it may be, and diverse experience of the trials, toils, the successes, the reverses and changes of life, have gathered in the midst of these fondly remembered scenes, to gladden our eyes and refresh our spirits with the sight of these familiar Halls, these whispering pines, these spacious academic grounds, or to survey the improvements which years have made in the condition and prospects of the mother of us all. The estrangements of the world, if such there are, or have been, all for the time forgotten, we come to greet one another once more; to renew again our vows of devotion to her who nourished our youth with the principles of virtue and the elements of wisdom and knowledge,

and to pledge our faith to one another, as her sons, as brothers, as fellow commoners in the great republic of educated men ; that we will promote her highest welfare, cherish steadfast friendship, each for the other, and stand, each in his lot, as the friend and supporter of the great interests of public virtue, of heaven-born science and sound learning in the land. No language or argument of the speaker, however appropriate or eloquent, can add to the dignity, or the moving appeals of the occasion itself.

To many of us when we entered this morning within the College precincts, it doubtless occurred, that the most prominent and affecting impression of such a meeting of graduates is, that our riper years, our mid-life, in some perhaps, our declining days are brought face to face with our own youth. The man of sixty or seventy summers meets himself, the youth of sixteen. It is scarcely less affecting than the visit, after long absence, to the home of our childhood. We freshen our recollections of the second early home of our heart's affections,—of the scenes where character received an impression less permanent and important only than that of the paternal fireside. These are gladsome, and yet sad hours. The chain of friendship is brightened anew. We meet the companions of earlier days, or fancy summons departed ones who long since buried their perished hopes and fair promise in early graves, or who have passed away in the midst of an honorable, useful and successful career. We rejoice in our hearts as we look again upon the once fair-haired, blooming, playful youth of college days, who sat at our side in the reciting room, or took part in

society debates, now that years have gone by, in the full strength of manhood's prime, come back to be for the day a youth again, bearing well earned honors the reward of earnest effort and persevering toil, with care-worn brow under the responsibilities of office or of station or profession or busy occupation, or crowned with the bays which the genius of poesy, or fiction, or history, or science, or learning bestows on her votaries, with a name familiar to the world of letters. Who of us, too, as he came into the presence of his Alma Mater, and has trodden these paths, has not been constrained to reflect on the use which he made of the opportunities here so freely granted; yet more, on the use he might have made of them; and then, on the fruits which have since been gathered from the sowing of those precious years; and more still on the far richer and more abundant harvest which by a more faithful culture might have been stored. May the lessons and admonitions of this Alumni day be fruitful of good to us all!

On the evening before the Commencement of 1835, our brother, the Hon. Charles S. Daveis, of the class of 1807, on invitation of those of our number then residing in this immediate neighborhood, delivered a discourse at a public meeting of graduates and friends with reference to the formation of a society of Alumni. An Association was accordingly then formed, the object of which was, as was expressed in its constitution, "to strengthen the bond of union among the Alumni, and to cherish in their hearts a sense of their obligations to their Alma Mater." Tuesday evening before Commencement was appropriated each successive year

to the meetings of the Association, and public addresses were delivered, or social gatherings were held, until 1851, when this arrangement, from various causes that we need not take time to enumerate, ceased. The revival of the Association, which we now inaugurate, on a plan which gives it more prominence and scope, it being proposed that the Phi Beta Kappa shall give place to it every third year, promises more efficiency. It at once becomes, far beyond the former arrangement, an important part in the general organization of the College.

The peculiarity of this occasion, then, perhaps also I may be permitted to add, my own long connection with the College as a teacher, justifies my impression that the speaker will best meet the wishes and expectations of his brethren by announcing as his subject, *our Alma Mater*. He does not propose to trace, as was so well done at our Semi-Centennial Celebration, the history of the College and of its progress, which, expanded with fuller and richer detail into a volume, will be issued in due time, and will be valued by every alumnus as one of his treasures. And yet around her memory, I must think, most naturally and appropriately cluster the reflections suggested by the circumstances under which we now meet. My object will be to strike the key-note of the occasion, and to re-animate, as I best may, our affections for the common mother of us all.

A royal Governor of Virginia in a despatch to the government at home once said: "I thank God, that there are no free schools, nor printing; and I hope we

shall not have them these hundred years." Such has never been the spirit of the descendants of the Pilgrims. Their thorough, intense Protestantism would not suffer them to hoard up the treasures of learning in cloisters for a privileged class. At the beginning of things in its new home, it devised institutions for their widest diffusion;—the Common School, and then the College. Hence what may be well called, and what in some respects is peculiarly, the American System of Education, almost coeval with the landing of the Pilgrims, the citadel of their strength and centre of their power. We may well pride ourselves on an ancestry, who, before they had a sure dwelling place of their own on the borders of the wilderness, in their feebleness and penury, and encompassed by appalling dangers, as one of their earliest legislative acts, founded Harvard College, not for sons of wealth, but for the sons of the State. To the noble, universal spirit of self-sacrifice of that heroic age faithful witness is borne by the records of Harvard, in which the names of donors may be still read; of one who bequeathed a number of sheep; of another who gave a quantity of cotton cloth worth nine shillings; of a third who presented a pewter flagon worth ten shillings; of others who gave severally a fruit dish, a sugar spoon, one great salt, a small trencher salt; the "poor emigrant," as says President Quincy, "struggling for existence, selecting from the few remnants of former prosperity, plucked by him out of the flames of persecution and rescued from the perils of the Atlantic, the valued pride of his table, or the precious delight of his domestic hearth, 'his heart stirred and his spirit willing' to give according to his means to-

wards establishing for learning a resting place and for science a fixed habitation."

Within the first ten years of its history a memorial was addressed to the Commissioners of the United Colonies proposing a general contribution for the maintenance of poor scholars at the College ; and a recommendation was accordingly made "to every family throughout the plantations who is able and willing to give, to contribute a fourth part of a bushel of corn, or something equivalent thereto, as a blessed means of comfortable provision for the diet of such students as stand in need of support." The site of the building is now shown in Boston, where was the place of deposite for these humble contributions. The world had never witnessed the like before. All respect and honor to that devotion to the highest good of man, which prompts men to invest of their abundance or of their straitness, whence they look for no return except in the increase of knowledge and virtue!

Little did the founders of the College at Newtown imagine, or the ten ministers who a few years after met at Branford in the neighboring colony each, as he laid down a number of volumes, saying, "I give these books for founding a college in Connecticut," that they were giving birth to a new idea in the world ! But so it was ; for they were to give the first demonstration of the power of the people to accomplish a work which had before been reserved for the resources of a powerful hierarchy, or a lordly aristocracy, or for regal munificence alone. The idea of the American college was doubtless derived from institutions in which the fathers of our republic had imbibed their love of learning ;

but it was framed in accordance with the genius of the new institutions which had here taken root, and in some respects has not its counterpart elsewhere on the globe. With few exceptions our Colleges, though chartered by the State governments, have been founded by the people, and more than by any class of our citizens, to their honor be it said, by the pastors of the churches, and are dependent mainly on the free contributions of the people. Governments cannot interfere with their privileges, nor in their management, except so far as their charters permit. In whatever degree they enjoy Legislative patronage, they cannot flourish without the confidence of the people. Their Faculties are mostly clerical; and that, because no community will patronize an Institution without the control of a decidedly Christian influence. They have all, with I think but two exceptions, (and neither of these are in other respects after the model of the rest,) a strictly religious parentage. Their foundations were laid in prayer. The motto of the oldest might with truth have been adopted by each, with the two exceptions referred to, in its inception and progress, *Christo et Ecclesiæ*. The attempt to secularize them would be suicidal. The studied effort, in the establishment of a Southern University under the direction and influence of a potent name in the politics of the country, to exclude Christianity from its halls, signally failed through the silent power of the religious sentiment which has since pervaded that State; nay we may say, through the innate tendencies at work within every genuine Protestant College. Such an attempt will probably never be repeated. This active moral and religious influence con-

stitutes a peculiarity of the American system. Many of us remember the testimony to this point borne by a distinguished Professor of Harvard at our Commencement table three years since. At one of the German Universities he gave a Professor some account of the discipline of the American Colleges, particularly with reference to its moral and religious tone,—the stated morning and evening service of the chapel, and the watch over the morals and character of the members. The German uttered an exclamation of surprise and gratification; “Would God, we had the same!” Our Colleges, moreover, throughout, exhibit another marked difference from similar institutions in England. They have multiplied the departments of study, at the expense of the thoroughness and extent to which a smaller number of branches are carried. We have no Universities after the European model, though several aspire to the name. In one instance the Chancellor of a chartered University was its only teacher, and stated with great simplicity, that, as the Institution had no buildings, he had taught the students in an apartment of his own dwelling. With the single exception, so far as I am informed, of Charlottesville, every College and University has been a re-production of Harvard and Yale; and when you hear of a new College in the land, you presume at once, that it has its four classes of undergraduates, its course of four years, its annual Commencements, substantially the same studies and the same methods of instruction and discipline. I repeat it, little did the twelve men who in 1637 were appointed by the General Court of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay “to take order for a College at Newtown,”

know what a work they were doing!—that they were committing to the virgin soil of the new world a seed, which was to yield its kind in succeeding generations, until it has already in two hundred years multiplied more than a hundred fold!

This zeal for education, so strikingly characteristic of the Pilgrim stock and the Scotch Presbyterians, is borne with them in their emigrations. The examples of Harvard and Yale were followed in what was called “the Log College,” erected by the senior Tennent at Neshaminy, Bucks County, Pennsylvania, whence were sent forth some of the leading Presbyterian ministers of the first half of the last century, and that was the germ, transplanted, of the College of New Jersey;—by Dartmouth, established in 1770, in the forests of New Hampshire for the teaching of Indian and English youth; literally at first a log cabin, for the President and his household and students. Scarcely had this ray of illumination begun to shed its beams, when the light of the Divine favor shown down upon them “in manifest tokens,” as the first President Wheelock records, “of the gracious presence of God by a spirit of conviction and consolation, until scarcely one remained who did not feel a greater or less degree of it.”—Whenever a State is admitted into our Union, nay even before it has emerged from its dependence as a Territory, it is in accordance with the law of American growth, that a College be founded. A few Home Missionaries amid the forests of the Wabash, kneel down upon the snow and dedicate to Heaven a site for a College which, to use the words of another, “had no existence save in their own faith and the Divine decrees, and on that

very spot it is raised in due time by a prayer-hearing God," and is now numbered among the useful and Heaven-blessed institutions of the mighty West. Our El Dorado of the Pacific has already devoted of its gold to open the richer treasures of learning to its youth; Oregon has its Pacific University, and the far off islands in mid-ocean, but little more than thirty years ago in deepest, darkest barbarism, under 'the impulse of the New England element which has become incorporated with their population, no mean portion of it from our own State and from this College, have within the year sent to our Atlantic cities for aid in the establishment of a College. A hundred years ago there were six Colleges in the United States; in 1800, twenty-five. They now number one hundred and forty, besides forty-six Theological Seminaries, and perhaps as many Law and Medical Schools. Within the last fifteen years, three Colleges a year have been added.

In like manner the founding of our own College is due to a few Congregational pastors and members of the other professions of this vicinity. It is now within two months of seventy years since petitions were sent to the General Court of Massachusetts by the Cumberland Association of Ministers and the Court of Sessions of this County, for the incorporation of a College in the County of Cumberland. After repeated delays, caused by conflicting opinions regarding name and place, Hancock and Bowdoin being rival candidates between the political parties in the Legislature for the distinction of the name, and Portland, Gorham, North Yarmouth, Freeport, New Gloucester, Brunswick, and Winthrop in Kennebec County, urging respective

claims for the location, at last a bill was enacted, June, 1794, establishing the College under the name of Bowdoin, which received the signature of Samuel Adams, Governor of Massachusetts. Brunswick was selected as its site on account of its central position at that time, and as a compromise between conflicting claims.

I will not occupy time in a detail of the hindrances and embarrassments which the infant enterprise encountered through the eight years which passed before the College went into operation. Suffice it to say, to the honor of its friends, that it was only through their steady perseverance, unflagging zeal, great personal sacrifice, and a generous and noble public spirit, that the project was not given up in despair. In July, 1801, the Boards of Trustees and Overseers met in this town at the house* of John Dunning, inn-holder, to choose a President of the College, when a most auspicious selection was made of Rev. Joseph M'Keen, pastor of the Congregational Church in Beverly, Massachusetts. In November of the same year, Mr. John Abbot, a graduate of Harvard, was chosen Professor of Languages. In September, 1802, these gentlemen, having accepted their appointments, were inducted into office. The novel occasion attracted a large assemblage, comprising men of the first distinction in the Commonwealth. A college edifice, which at the meeting of the Boards on this occasion received the name of Massachusetts Hall, was ready for the temporary accommodation of the President's family, and for students. But there being no church edifice in the village, a platform and accommo-

* The old tavern, which stood midway down the street on the left, and was burned two years since.

dations for spectators were erected for the ceremonies of inauguration, in the pine grove in the rear of the College Halls near the present cemetery. The scene in which they were participating could not but have deeply affected the principal actors. After years of struggle and anxiety and great perplexity, seated beneath the overshadowing forest and witnessing the ceremonial which opened in this new part of our land, then scarcely reclaimed from the wilderness, an institution which they trusted would, by the blessing of Heaven, do much for the future honor and welfare of the community, their bosoms glowed with emotions of satisfaction and joy. It seemed indeed as if a fountain of health-giving waters had gushed forth in the desert. On the day following the inauguration, eight were examined for admission into College, of whom one came from Boston, another from Newburyport, evincing the interest and the confidence felt by the mother State in the new child of promise.* Thus fifty-six years ago the College set forth on its career of usefulness and honor.

The graduate of these later days cannot easily conceive the circumstances which made the founding of the College and its first ushering into life a desperate enterprise, or estimate the full import of our language when we say, that strong love for learning and for man, and stronger faith only, could have accomplished the undertaking. To the rest of the world the College seemed to be placed in the ends of the earth,—a notion not yet corrected in some quarters. The population

* One or two passages are taken from an Historical Sketch of the College prepared by the author several years since for the Am. Quarterly Register.

of the District of Maine at that time was one hundred and fifty thousand. Portland was a thriving town of four or five thousand inhabitants. Our neighbor city Bath was a small village, just entered on her career as a port of entry. Wiscasset was the most enterprising and flourishing sea-port on our coast east of Portland—rivalling even that—a well known centre of wealth, fashion and gayety. The shores of her beautiful harbor used to repeat the echoes of heavy guns from British shipping, moored in her waters, celebrating the national holidays of England. Hallowell and Augusta were just emerging from the wilderness, almost without access from this town except on horseback. In 1803 or 1804 Justice Parker of the Supreme Court on his eastern circuit achieved the passage in a sulky, which was deemed an exploit. About this date Col. Estabrook, a well known citizen of this town, established a mail conveyance to Augusta for one or two passengers, and that was an era. Thomaston was a radiant point at that time, whither Gen. Knox and his imposing mansion, beautifully situated on St. George's, and his princely hospitality attracted visitors from all the region round, and in large numbers from Boston and more southern cities. Castine was a thriving village on a narrow projection into Penobscot Bay. Bangor was as yet a mere hamlet. At Lewiston was a single house and saw mill. Besides villages of less account on the sea board, the rest of Maine was an interminable wilderness, invaded here and there only by more enterprising settlers mostly from the mother state. The only post-roads wound along the coast from the Piscataqua to the Penobscot, while beyond was a *terra incognita* to travellers by land.

The son of a Massachusetts home, destined for the College, perhaps was committed with bed and bedding to the custody and tardy progress of an Eastern coaster lying for freight and passengers at the T. wharf in Boston, and after a week's, he might congratulate himself if it were not a two week's voyage, he and his reached this his far off place of exile. A letter posted in Boston, heralded along its slow and winding way by the rumbling of the lumbering coach and the echoes of the postman's horn at every village, after four days arrived at its destination in the semi-weekly mail. Or did the Boston parent of a son about to graduate, or some zealous friend of learning and of the rising college purpose to be present at Commencement, after more ado of preparation than a voyage of these days by ocean steamer to Liverpool, his long and toilsome journey in his private carriage of four or five days afforded more of incident and variety than a journey now to Washington or Niagara. The passage of the impetuous, and at times perilous, Piscataqua in a scow, introduces him to the endless forests, the hills, rocks, and the gridiron bridges of Maine, the evil report of which has reached his ear. He makes his slow progress over the long, rugged, toilsome miles of Cape Neddock, and Wells, relieved by the enchanting views of the broad Atlantic, which burst as by enchantment on the eye at York, and then of the magnificent beaches and the in-rolling waves breaking in long sheets of foam (all now lost to railway travellers); he passes the fine falls of the Saco river and the dense gloom of the Saco woods, admires the charming site of Portland and its thrift and promise;

then on this hand catching charming views of the Casco Bay, on which his eye cannot tire,—(the wayfarer of to-day loses all that beauty,)—at length wearied and dusty, after the last long ten miles, slowly emerging half a mile below us on the plain, he gets sight of a single three storied edifice of brick—a plain, unpainted chapel of wood—a church and spire yet unfinished—a President's house of most modest pretension, and a few humble scattering dwellings. This was Bowdoin College as it was at the Commencement of 1806.

A photograph of the personages who graced or honored the earlier Commencements would impress, I think, even the present generation. The *laudatores temporis acti* may be allowed to think, that if we have gained in some respects, we have lost in others. The habits of social life which imparted a distinction and grace to the assemblages of that day, on such an occasion, have long since passed away. The entire want of such facilities of intercourse, as are now enjoyed, made the gatherings perhaps more select. Visitors came in their own conveyances. The line of the College fence, from the tavern, (which used to stand in what is now the northwest angle of the College yard,) almost to the woods, was occupied with chaises and private carriages. Buggy or wagon is a later invention. The occasion, moreover, was particularly attractive to men of learning or of leisure. The difference I have alluded to was particularly observable in costume. Chief Justice Jay once said, that “the French Revolution banished silk stockings and high breeding.” The full dress of a gentleman abjured what was beginning to be regarded as the democracy of pants and adhered

still to the federalism of breeches and powdered hair with a queue. Even the graduating class appeared in silk gowns, breeches and black silk hose. The President, and Professors also, added the Oxford cap. The black stock was then exclusively a military appointment.

There were really men of acknowledged distinction, whose form and features and bearing we love to recall to mind : and in this I draw on my own recollections. It was a great occasion with me, when a mere child I was brought the long and memorable drive of twenty miles to attend the Commencement of 1810. The church was not crowded, as in these days, for the Wiscasset boy found easy access and comfortable standing in the south gallery of the old church, near the choir, and could look down on the whole. My recollections are particularly distinct of the Greek oration of the deep-mouthed Wise, of the bachelors, probably because it was all Greek to me ; and of the brilliant master's oration pronounced *a Domino Daveis*, whose comparison of something to "a popinjay flying into the clouds" attracted my notice, as I perceived that it was received with much applause by the gentlemen on the platform.

Some who hear me have a distinct impression of several personages, without whom we used to think a Commencement could not be ; of ALDEN BRADFORD, each of whose names betrays his lineage ; in whose veins flowed unmixed Puritan blood ; whose manners exhibited the highest polish of the most cultivated society of the time, and whose taste and studies through life were devoted to the memory of the fathers of New England ;

—of WILDE, in due time to be elevated to the Supreme Bench of Massachusetts, with clear beaming eye of hazle, of fine intellectual features expressing in the highest degree character, humor, and amiableness, then in brilliant reputation as a leading attorney at every bar in the State;—of MELLEN, his compeer, of commanding person, of graceful bearing and speech, of eminent legal acumen and learning, of various culture and taste, of genial humor and sparkling wit, which never wounded, while it made him the charm of every social circle. When Maine became an independent State, as the first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, he gave our Judiciary a reputation which it still reveres. We recall, too, the respected, admirable LONGFELLOW, the irreproachable and incorruptible, of retiring modesty, and yet of ability, learning, and clear argumentation in union with a sincerity of character, which won the confidence of Judge and Jury, of refined and courteous bearing, the sure friend of worthy young men;—and ORR, fearless, tenacious of his purpose, abrupt, unceremonious in his exterior, of great astuteness and grasp of mind, at the same time alive to the grace and elegance of Horace and of the masters of English style,—in his prime, the acknowledged head of the bar of Maine.

Several of the Clergy of those earlier days of the College, to whose self-denying efforts and counsels and prayers the College owes such a debt of gratitude—we love to bring before us their familiar forms, and pay a tribute to their memory;—the learned, accomplished, gentle and courteous JENKS, an early and steadfast friend of the College, with a compass and variety of

erudition beyond all others, devoted to the interests of literature and sound learning next only to the cause of his Divine Master; and who, even within these few months,—his outward ear almost closed to the voices of earth, but his inward man renewed day by day,—may have been seen at the daily meeting for prayer in Boston, and then may have been met at the Athenæum, or at the American Academy, or the Oriental or Historical Society, or as one of the committee of visitation of Harvard, with the life of younger years, prompt to the call of duty and Christian love;—BROWN, too soon for us summoned to higher and more weighty responsibility in that memorable contest for the chartered rights of Dartmouth, which enlisted the first legal talent of the country, and involved the stability of all our seminaries of learning, and to sacrifice his life in the service;—GILLET, the acute Theologian, devoted to his chosen work, skilled, as few were, in his pure nervous felicitous style;—NICHOLS, of elegant and varied scholarship, and firm grasp and power of intellect, whose fine classical front and features and his whole bearing revealed a character to command respect and love;—PAYSON, the servant of God, of faith and prayer, and fervid eloquence, whose is a name known and honored in the churches of our own and other lands. I shall be excused for introducing into this portraiture another of the neighboring clergy, one, (I may say without the charge of undue estimation by a son,) of high personal bearing, of polished manners, eminently a lover of youth to the last day of extreme age, who loved Harvard, his own Alma Mater, with fond devotion and imparted of the same devotion to

Bowdoin—he could not transfer the whole—was present at most of the annual examinations for many years, and, I believe, at each of the first twenty-four Commencements. Our photographs would not be complete without one figure well remembered by the older graduates, which probably attracted quite as much notice as any other, arrayed in a broad skirted coat with heavy cuffs and flaps, a doublet or waistcoat extending almost to the knees, a full bottomed wig and large cocked hat, the Rev. Mr. Eaton of Harpswell.*

Of the first distinction among the friends and patrons of the infant College was a gentleman who often honored the earlier Commencements with his presence, Dr. Benjamin Vaughan. A native of England, allied to noble families, educated at Trinity, Cambridge, and then at Edinburgh where he took a degree in medicine, an intimate friend of Drs. Aiken, Price, and Priestly, a member of Parliament, Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, he sought refuge in this country from impending political turmoil consequent on the French Revolution. He selected for his future home a spot on the banks of the Kennebec in Hallowell, which to the prophetic eye of taste presented the richest landscape of town, fields, wooded heights, verdant lawns and the flowing river, and there lived in true republican simplicity a life of elegant, scholarly retirement, and active usefulness; his ample library and apparatus and his abundant stores of science and learning ever open; maintaining correspondence with men of science and letters in his native and his adopted home; ever ready for projects of public or private good; adminis-

* All those named were of the Board of Trustees, except Mr. Eaton, who was of the Overseers.

tering to the poor in sickness, or to his friends, for which his education and reading had well prepared him, and still remembered with gratitude for his valuable aid and advice when a fatal pestilence swept over this part of our State. He did not despise what must have seemed to him the day of small things. Our library and apparatus, nay, the Institution throughout, has reason to remember with veneration and love this early and steadfast friend. Nor should we omit to mention a brother of this man of note, a true English gentleman, Charles Vaughan, Esq., a member of our Overseers; nor a brother-in-law, John Merrick, Esq., who a year or two later emigrated to this country; whose superior powers of conversation and the elegant simplicity of whose rural residence made it attractive to all visitors whether of our own or other lands. The elastic, upright carriage, the active interest and intelligence of this gentleman of fourscore, and his venerable flowing locks are at once recalled to mind by recent graduates who have met him year after year at the Mineralogical Lecture, at which, in his annual visits, he loved to refresh his mind on subjects which were his great delight. All these gentlemen were unfailing friends, and through them relatives of the family in England and Jamaica have been valued friends, of the College almost to this day. This remarkable cluster of families of refinement and culture made the town of Hallowell for many years more known abroad than any other in the District of Maine.

But to return to the life of the College. Emanuel College at Cambridge in England was founded in 1585 by Sir Walter Mildmay. When he presented himself at Court, Queen Elizabeth said to him: "Sir Walter, I

hear you have erected a Puritan foundation." "No, your majesty," he replied, "far be it from me to countenance anything contrary to your established laws. But I have set an acorn, which when it becomes an oak, God alone knows what will be the fruit thereof." We have reason to thank God for some of the fruits of his planting; for on that foundation were reared many of our Pilgrim Fathers, who, by the good hand of God upon them, planted in this new world the seeds of religion and civil freedom. He prepared room before the mighty growth, caused it to take deep root, and it hath filled the land.

At the close of our first chapel service, held on the lower floor of Massachusetts Hall, the members of the first class were lingering in front of the building, and Thorndike, idly perhaps, planted an acorn by the doorway. It vegetated, and, guarded from injury, grew. Some interest attached to the tiny shrub when it was found the next season to be still alive. By permission of the President, who meanwhile had removed to the house erected for him, it was transplanted to a corner of his garden. The acorn has now become a large tree, and birds of the air lodge in its branches,—an emblem of the constant growth of the College, more vigorous, however, as being in a more genial soil for the rearing of souls than our plain affords for any vegetable product. We owe grateful acknowledgements to that Providence which appointed such men to give character and position at once to the new Seminary; men of comprehensive views, who labored to lay a broad foundation on which to build for ages to come. Most of them

were sons of Harvard, and were resolved that the requirements for admission and the curriculum of the College should be on the level of the oldest Institutions. Previous to the opening of the College, the President and Professor elect were commissioned to visit the other Colleges, and to bring back the results of their experience for the benefit of the new enterprise. Pres. M'Keen was an alumnus of Dartmouth, but had been a Pastor in the vicinity of Cambridge. The first Professors and Tutors were all from Harvard; and thus the infant life of the College was nurtured under the best influences and advantages which the country could afford.

At the Commencement of 1810, to which I have referred, I, a mere child, was shown by the kindness of Mr. Bradford, a Trustee, my father's friend and neighbor, the College Library, a vast collection, it seemed to me, occupying the whole of one end of the old Chapel Hall and counting more than one thousand volumes. I can remember, that previously, in 1807, at the time of the dedication of the church on the site of that in which we are now assembled, Prof. Cleaveland showed my father, who led me by the hand, the Cabinet of Bowdoin College, all embraced in a small case in an apartment of Massachusetts Hall on the lower floor, a common college room. It had been President M'Keen's parlor, and is included in the present Chemical Lecture room. Chaptal's Chemistry was the text-book in that science. Lectures were given, so far as could be done, with a few retorts and a gas apparatus presented to the College by Prof. Dexter of Harvard. This apparatus has some interest

attached to it ; for it was manufactured in the laboratory of Dr. Beddoes of the "Pneumatic Institution," as it was called, at Bristol in England ; and at the time it was made, young Davy, afterwards the world-renowned Sir Humphrey Davy, was an assistant. This apparatus has been used every year since. Though the Professor had a few specimens to show, Mineralogy had not fairly seen the light. This new science, when I was admitted to the Freshman class of 1812-13, had been added to the curriculum. That year was signalized by the addition of the large and valuable private library of Mr. Bowdoin and the gallery of paintings. Our annual Catalogue, printed, as was then the style, on a single broad sheet to be fastened to the wall of the College room, presented the array of President, two Professors, two Tutors, two Resident Graduates, and thirty-seven students. A permanent increase of undergraduates began to be perceived in 1816.

Not to pursue details, we cannot but remark on the influence of a College even so humble and unpretending. It is said of Luther, that when asked why he was accustomed, as he entered his school, to bow to his pupils, he replied: "because I enter the presence of future burgomasters, princes and dukes of the empire." Could one, with like foresight and like feeling of reverence for dignities, have entered that plainest of all structures, the College chapel of those days, where were assembled my own contemporaries, or the private rooms where they gathered for recitation, he might well have doffed his hat, and with profound obeisance have rendered homage to the youth before

him; for in those seven classes, with an average of eleven members, future years were to reveal a distinguished Senator of the United States, four Representatives in Congress, a Governor of the State, a Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, two Attorney Generals, a President of a College, four college Professors, the present senior Secretary of the American Board of Missions, the Head of one of the oldest and most honored of the Academies of New England,* and many besides, who in all the professions have rendered valuable service and exerted important influence.

But such results,—and how they multiply in our subsequent history we shall soon see,—are not all to be ascribed to the College; for the best appointed college cannot *create*. Its object is to *form*; and, although, as we have already intimated, during the infant years of our College the enterprise seemed to those who thought themselves quite in the neighborhood of Attica, like setting up a school of philosophy and belles lettres in Boeotia, or on the far off shores of Thrace, it appeared in due time, that the acorn, after all, was planted in a vigorous soil.

The most unwelcome agency for our Alma Mater I ever undertook, was in an effort some years since on the sea-board to procure funds for her pressing necessities. I returned with the conviction that I had proved a most unsuccessful solicitor in her behalf. An individual of abundant means, who knew my purpose, forestalled any personal application from the unwelcome visitor by a somewhat violent tirade in the street in a blustering winter's day on the uselessness

* Phillips, Exeter, N. H.

of collegiate education and of Colleges. He knew better, doubtless, though he gained his point. We confess, that many have had all the advantages of the best appointed college, and have squandered them, and become worse than useless men. So have many proved worthless who were never within College Halls, sons of affluence and high station, who would better never have been born.

Could our Alma Mater have form and speech, and the Genius of the Pine tree State summon her to give account of her stewardship of the charter which was committed to her keeping sixty-four years ago, by which she was enjoined "to promote virtue, piety and the knowledge of languages and of the useful and liberal arts and sciences," with no undue exultation she might unroll the catalogue of her sons who laid here the foundation of their subsequent career of usefulness and honor, and show the names of a President of the United States, six Senators and sixteen Representatives in the National Congress, four Governors, one Chief Justice and five Justices of Supreme Courts, six Presidents and thirty-four Professors of Colleges and Professional Schools. She might refer to the two hundred Clergy, many of whom were led within these Halls to consecrate their lives to their Redeemer,—some, as the event has proved, called to eminent service in their Master's cause; to the model Missionary,* whose name is now held in highest consideration at the Sublime Porte, and will be handed down to coming generations with affection and reverence throughout the dominions of the Sultan; to the Pastor† for several years of a promi-

* Cyrus Hamlin, 1834.

† George L. Prentiss, 1835.

nent Church in the Presbyterian communion in the city of New York;—to another,* by whose earnest, fearless eloquence the Church of the Puritans on Union Square has been stirred as the trees of the wood by a mighty wind;—and yet a third,† whose learning and general culture and fine theological mind have made the Theological Chair of the Union Seminary one of the ablest in the land; and to another,‡ whose acquisitions in sacred literature and resources of general learning, and his often quaint, pointed and always simple, yet vigorous Saxon have given him an honored name at the West as well as among ourselves; to others too, fast rising into eminence, as expounders and defenders of the faith in our own and other States; and to many besides, who, though they be not called Rabbi,—for Alma Mater has not been lavish of her honors, even upon her own children,—though they be not heard on platforms, yet by their devotion, steadfastness in doctrine, and earnestness of life have praise in the churches. She might also refer her inquisitor to her own Courts of Law and show there the major part of the practicing attorneys from among her own sons; and those too who have gained honorable distinction as advocates and jurists in other States. She could remind her of a son of Bowdoin, her own son too,§ on whose lips courts of law and crowded halls of National and State legislation, and masses on political fields hung enchanted by the marvel of his ceaseless flow of language, metaphor, poetic illustration, and argument;—of another,|| her own, and our Alma Mater's

* George B. Cheever, 1825. † Henry B. Smith, 1834. ‡ Calvin E. Stowe, 1824.

§ Sergeant S. Prentiss, 1826. || Samuel S. Boyd, 1826.

son too, whose professional life has been spent in the State of Mississippi, whose eminent success at the bar and whose reputation for legal learning, superior ability and high accomplishment might have elevated him to the Bench of the Supreme Court of the United States, had not local considerations ruled the day.

Our Alma Mater in rendering account of herself could also refer to names honored in letters. A friend of my own who edited the U. S. Literary Gazette, published in Boston, (1824 to 1826,) once asked me about a young man in our College who sent him so fine poetry. It was Longfellow, a fair haired youth, blooming with health and early promise. I reported well of him, as one whose scholarship and character was quite equal to his poetry. Were we to visit the court of the accomplished Pedro II., Emperor of Brazil, or any court in Europe, or any circle of literary culture in the world of letters, we should find his a familiar name to all lovers of purity, simplicity, grace and matchless skill of versification, and his Psalm of Life a minstrel's song for his own and other lands. Our Alma Mater could point to the name of another* of the same class, whose success in a peculiar and attractive vein of fiction, and his vigor of conception and of style have given him rank among the most marked fictitious writers of the day. She could mention two brothers,† whose name is a favorite with childhood and youth, as were those of Barbauld and Edgeworth forty years ago, or which, in writings designed to illustrate the fundamental truths of the Christian faith and life, or on grave historic themes, is familiar wherever the English language is read.

* Nathaniel Hawthorne.

† Jacob Abbot, 1820. John S. C. Abbot, 1825.

But our Alma Mater, with a true mother's heart, would never forget that the children who cherish her memory and the great interests dear to her with equal devotion, perhaps with equal effect, may be quite as much among those whose acts and agencies are less known. Remember the saying of Carlyle: "The hands of forgotten brave men have made this a world for us." Every educated man may be, the great majority are, lights where they dwell. All cannot be suns in the same system, but the faint glimmer of the distant star, which we should hardly miss were it blotted out from our heaven, reveals a central orb blazing with effulgence in its own sphere.

The guardian genius of the State might require of our Alma Mater account of what has been done at this her own home in the cause of science and learning and religion, and she might remind her, that one,* who more perhaps than any other may be called the Father of Mineralogy in this country, fifty-two years ago began his studies with her approving smiles over a peck of Vermont stones obtained from his friend Dr. Dexter of Boston; then gained a new impulse from a small cabinet of foreign specimens from France, which her chief patron had bequeathed to her keeping; and then ten years subsequently, which had been filled with long days of labor and short nights of rest, sent forth a work on the new science, which gave him a name at once in every school of science in Europe. A gentleman has told me within a day or two, that he visited the fine cabinet of minerals in the Collegio Romano at Rome in 1855, and the accomplished Professor of Mineralogy asked him, if among the American

* Prof. Cleaveland.

savans he knew Prof. Cleaveland, and expressed himself in terms of high commendation of this work and inquired with great interest when the long promised new edition would appear. Furthermore she might say, that in the midst of the meagre appointments and resources of her earlier years and in manifold labors and cares, there was here meditated and composed Addresses for the graduating classes, and Lectures on great doctrines of Christian faith, which have given the author* a name among the ablest moralists and theologians of the land ;—that by another,† who in retirement is spending a *cruda viridisque senectus* and devotes himself to literary labor, was given to the press a series of Baccalaureate and other discourses replete with the lessons of wisdom, experience and Christian devotion, and honorable to the literature of the country ;—that in the stated calls of office a text-book in Rhetoric‡ was here composed which was republished in London, has passed through sixty editions in our own country, and still maintains its position as the best elementary treatise on that subject ;—that here have been laboriously digested and published, a system of Intellectual Philosophy and a Treatise on the Will,|| which have been adopted as text-books in many of our highest Institutions and in most of our schools and academies ; while the same laborious pen has produced other works on topics of practical religion, read throughout our own country, commended in England, and within a few months read with interest and high approval by one of the lights of the Univer-

* Pres. Appleton. † Rev. Dr. Allen of Northampton, Mass., late President of the College. ‡ By Prof. Newman. || By Prof. Upham.

sity of Göttingen. She could also say, that in obedience to the same calls of her daily life a *System of Algebra** was prepared and published several years ago which first adapted the best French methods to the American mind, and received the warm commendation of the American mathematician, Bowditch, was adopted as a text-book for several years at Harvard, and has been long used and is still used in the Protestant Seminary at Constantinople, on account of its adaptation not to the "American only, but the human mind;" which has been followed by a whole course of *College Mathematics*, crowned with a *Calculus*, so clearly and satisfactorily developed and with so much originality, as to draw forth emphatic approval in high quarters, and constituting, it is affirmed by competent judges, an era in the means of elementary instruction in this profound and difficult branch;—a course of mathematics adopted, she could remind her questioner, in her own public and private schools, and introduced into other Colleges.

Besides these more conspicuous returns made by the College to her guardian State, if pressed still farther, she might complete her account and refer to the influence the College has exerted and is still exerting on the interests of popular education. When she sends forth an annual contribution of from one hundred to one hundred and fifty teachers to our common schools, and moreover supplies competent instructors for our High Schools and Academies, under their influence many a youth, and through him many a neighborhood, from the St. Croix to the Piscataqua, has been stimu-

* By Prof. Smyth.

lated to higher aims. She may with reason insist, that to her oldest College the State is indebted for a fair proportion at least of the honorable character she holds among the States of the Union. She might add, too, that the officers of the College have done somewhat in promoting the cause of popular instruction by personal efforts. This town might be summoned to testify what a debt she owes to some of them in establishing and perfecting, amid serious opposition and conflict, its present excellent system of graded schools. Nay, were the truth spoken, every town in the State owes a tribute to one of our number especially, who, by personal advocacy of the graded system of schools before a Committee of the Legislature, with a force of argument and earnest persuasion that made some of our Legislators marvel, that a College Professor could labor so heartily and so efficiently, and even for common schools, was instrumental in effecting that a particular provision in relation to the schools of this town should become a general law for the whole State.

As we have said already, we by no means claim all this for the College. The acorn was planted in a kindly soil. The fact, itself, that the District of Maine was remote from the centres of commerce, wealth and social life,—that it was so largely an unredeemed wilderness,—and furthermore its three hundred miles of sea-coast,—last of all the impulse communicated to her prosperity when she assumed the dignity of an independent State,—all combined to invite the accession of an energetic, intelligent, self-reliant, enterprising class of citizens. The children of so hardy a parentage,

it might be expected, would exhibit similar qualities of character. Some of us have heard the testimony borne by the present Head of the College to the impression made upon him when he took the chair of Sacred Literature in the Theological Seminary at Bangor. He was struck by the indications he saw of superior elements of efficiency and usefulness in the young men he found there, many of them recent graduates of this College. Similar testimonials we have from our Medical Professors, who assure us, that a comparison of the lecture room here with the lecture rooms of other States is honorable in a high degree to Maine. Quite recently, if I do not misjudge, Mr. President,* proofs have been given again and again in the Halls of Congress, and elsewhere, that Maine and our Alma Mater too must have had brave materials out of which to make such men.

The College has at times had an evil report, deserved it may be, for what institution is long free from reproach. It would be a marvel, if there were not always unworthy members of a college community;—youth, who by some sad mistake found admission among their betters, but who were quite as likely to have brought their worthlessness with them, as to have contracted it after they came. Could any College or University Halls have speech, they might reveal scenes, at the remembrance of which the actors blush with shame, and always will; but more, which when long years have passed and results have appeared, will quicken and move to earnest thought and reverence the visitor that turns his steps thither. These are the

* Hon. William P. Fessenden.

memories and associations which constitute what has been called the invisible wealth of University or College, scarcely less to be prized than libraries or museums or galleries of art. The visitor at Oxford fails not to go and muse beneath the shades of "Addison's walk;" or to gaze at the tower over the gate-way of Trinity, in which Newton solved the problem of the Universe; or beneath the Tower of Pembroke to look for the window from which Johnson, struggling with poverty, but too proud to receive a gift, flung into the quadrangle the shoes which some unknown, sympathizing fellow-collegian had placed at his door; and to gain new aspirations from the thought, that he is breathing the same atmosphere that the Hookers, the Chillingworths and the Lockes breathed two centuries ago; or at Cambridge he will seek where Milton felt "the stirrings of the gift divine," and his love of freedom kindled into an unquenchable flame. Our American system does not contemplate resident scholarships, and is therefore not likely to be rich in such memories, still, college life among ourselves, is not, as it may often seem to the looker on, all a frolic and a farce. Countless are the tales of humor and fun, which proceed from all College and University Halls. But there is a hidden life within their precincts, just as there is in each one's breast. Nobler aspirations, the pursuit of higher aims, the protracted labors, the generous contests, and the buoyant hopes of pure and ennobling ambition, are never published abroad. It is not so in subsequent life. But the secret is revealed sometimes in private records, in correspondence where friend unbosoms the most sacred feelings to friend, or in the diary where the

scholar notes them for his own eye alone. The larger part of those whose names are borne on college catalogues, we trust, have enrolled themselves for a high purpose, and know for what they have come, and are ever pressing toward their goal; and in every college precinct it may well excite reflection, that many are there laying foundations for future usefulness, perhaps fame. Would that every youth, when he is received to the arms of our gracious mother, might be inspired with the ambition to add what he may to make this the home of elevating associations and remembrances in coming years! Such memories stimulate the sense of obligation felt by her sons to their Alma Mater and enliven their devotion to her interests and welfare. The highest minds and purest and warmest hearts most highly appreciate and profoundly cherish such attachments. The Marquis of Wellesley, a great name in the British annals of this century, at the close of his career of great achievements in war and statesmanship, when life was wasting, expressed the desire, that his body might be laid in the chapel of Eton College. This sentiment is finely expressed in the lines, one of the last productions of his pen:

"Sit mihi, primitiasque meas tenuesque triumphos

"Sit, revocare tuos, dulcis Etona, dies.

"Auspice Te, summæ mirari culmina famæ,

"Et purum antiquæ lucis adire jubar

"Edidici puer, et jam primo in limite vitæ,

"Ingenuas veræ laudis amare vias."

Of his yet more renowned brother, the late Duke of Wellington, it is related, that on some visit to the same Eton in his old age, while gazing on those well remembered scenes of his boyhood, when allusion was

made to the exploits of his manhood, he exclaimed, "Yes, yes, it was at Eton, that Waterloo was won."

We should do our Alma Mater great injustice, and should be untrue to the kind Providence which has guarded and blessed the College, if we omitted particular reference to the Christian devotion which watched over its *incunabula*. Succeeding generations will have occasion to remember with gratitude, that the choice of the first President fell on one who, of a true catholic spirit, with firmness and wisdom gave the right direction to the religious character of the College, and that on his early removal by death, the weighty trust was committed to another of like spirit, who to ardent love of learning added deep devotion to the interests of true piety, and whose great weight of character established, as we trust, on a sure foundation the vital interests of the College. We would ever bear in mind, that the solicitude of Christian people and of the churches of Christ in behalf of this Institution, constitute an essential element of its prosperity. However imposing its array of edifices and appointments, we know, that they are of little account without the cordial sympathy and prayers of ministers and churches in its behalf. Let but the suspicion possess the public mind of unsoundness in a high-toned moral sentiment, and of treachery to the faith and spirit of Protestant Christianity,—the flower of our youth will not be sent to imbibe poison within its walls, but will be committed elsewhere to better influences. Would time permit to portray the interior Christian life of the College from its infancy, sometimes faint and flickering, then breaking forth in brightness, could you have listened to the story, as it

has recently been composed by the Collins Professor, from a wide correspondence with graduates of almost every class to 1839, with care and discrimination and a just estimate of influences, deserving the highest commendation, above all with fervent recognition throughout of the good hand of God upon the College, it would awaken in all hearts grateful surprise and warmest gratitude to Him who has ever been watching over the College, and who, in answer to fervent prayer, will continue to watch over it still.

The graduates of earlier years often contrast the present curriculum, apparatus, the means and methods of instruction, with those of their day. It would be a reproach indeed, if, as years and college generations sweep along, there were no improvement and advance. At my own admission, forty-six years ago, I was examined in Virgil, Cicero, the Greek Testament and the four fundamental rules of Arithmetic. That was fully up to the standard of the day. The course of college studies was about in the same ratio to that of the present time. The advance which subsequent years have made in what is required of candidates for admission and in the amount accomplished in the studies of the College, does not seem to me so worthy of notice, as the marked improvement in the style of teaching. We certainly may claim that methods of instruction in some branches have been entirely changed, and in all, are more efficient and are attended with more important results. For example, the blackboard, now an essential of common school apparatus, was not introduced until 1826. Teaching throughout is no longer empirical, but scientific. In the profession of teaching the

life, labors and example of a Dr. Arnold have signalized this half century. If I may borrow the language of commerce, so familiar to us Yankees, the master of Rugby has raised stock in this calling many per cent. His intense fervor, his truthfulness, profound conscientiousness, sincere and fervent piety, energy and courage, aided by a vigorous, independent understanding, and embellished by learning and high culture, have given a new position to the teacher. It was seen, that a man of first rate powers and cultivation might devote himself enthusiastically to this work. The result is, the general advance of education in the community at large; as much even in the Common Schools, perhaps even more, than in the University. Children in the schools of the Village District of this town now accomplish more in discipline and actual attainment in some branches, than Freshmen in College forty years ago. And thus is imposed on us the necessity of increased activity to maintain our standing;—not so much by multiplying branches, as by the extent and method and thoroughness of instruction.

Much has been written and more declaimed on the subject of Collegiate Education. Schemes have been devised with the view of *popularizing*, as it has been termed, the highest Seminaries, in order to adapt them to what is alleged to be the increased demands of the age. A demand has been pressed with great urgency and persistence, that they shall be thrown open to those who are designed for mechanical and commercial pursuits; in a word, that they be made more practical; the implication being, that, as their system has been ordered for centuries, they are not practical. All I

have to say is, that strictures, to which the English Universities have been exposed, do not by any means apply to the Collegiate System of this country. When we hear or read sarcasms on the arbitrary routine of our College System,—on “the ritual of Harvard or Yale,” and the repugnance to control of some strong-willed youth commended, and Sir Walter Scott’s remark quoted, that “the best part of every man’s education is that which he gives himself;” and again Sir Benjamin Brodie’s, that “high education is a leveller which, while it tends to improve ordinary minds, may in some cases prevent the full expansion of genius;” and yet again, Dr. Newman’s, “how much better for the active and thoughtful intellect to eschew the College and University than to submit to a drudging so ignoble, a mockery so contumelious;”—we think it enough to reply, that Sir Walter did not cease to lament to his last days his misimprovement of the curriculum of Edinburgh; that, in the general system of public education everywhere, there is the preliminary course for professional study, and next the professional course, each having its distinct province and each essential to the general end; that no system can be made for genius, or the conceit of genius alone; and, furthermore, that as to what is called the unpractical in the collegiate course of study, that system is eminently practical which furnishes the mind with the instruments and the forces wherewith to apply itself to the work of life. Said Dr. Arnold; “It is not knowledge, but the means of gaining knowledge, which I have to teach:”—precisely what our college system professes to do.

Let it also be borne in mind, that every effort made

in this country thus to "popularize" education, from the "parallel courses," (the classics being excluded from one, and both ending in the usual Academic degree,) down through the scheme of University students as they were denominated, to the last great show of popularization, have, it is believed, signally failed to meet expectation. The argument, as set forth with marked ability by the Faculty of Yale several years since, and in repeated discussions down to the recent able and satisfactory exposition of the subject by Professor Barnard, late of Alabama, now President of the University of Mississippi, is a triumphant vindication of those Institutions which have resisted innovations on the judgment of centuries, and the wisest friends of the highest education have become settled in their convictions. The true policy, in our country especially, is, if we would secure the highest end of education, to guard with jealousy the interests of thorough scholarship. To lower the standard of discipline and attainment in the college, as experience shows, tends to reduce the standard at every subordinate degree in the system. Talk as we may about the practical, and in estimate of its importance we yield to none, there is demand, never greater than at this day, for true scholarship, as much as for engineering, or for skill in business. Those who have been longest engaged in the reciting room are sometimes too fully aware, that each generation requires more minute and extensive attainments to meet their wants; that scholarship is not retrograde, but on the advance. We trust it is so with ourselves. It was a testimony borne many years ago to this College at Andover, by

one whose name this country holds in honor as the Father of Biblical science in the land, a testimony honorable and gratifying at the time, that the graduates of Bowdoin were characterized by sound scholarship. Better cherish pride of scholarship than pride of numbers; in accordance with the characteristic utterance of President Quincy of Harvard, "*Don't count, but weigh us.*" What is always a trait of solid attainment, our sons have generally exhibited a becoming modesty. If any of them have discovered that Bowdoin is the centre of the world, the news has not yet reached her ears. Could the case be submitted to the body of our graduates, whether it shall yet be more true, that a Bowdoin degree shall mean what it bears on the parchment, we cannot doubt what the verdict would be. Let us solicit the co-operation of all who have concern in our preparatory schools, to sustain and raise our standard. I am sure, as having occasion to feel the pressure of such inquiries, I shall be pardoned if I express the earnest desire, that candidates for admission may not be encouraged to ascertain, if they can, the lowest possible amount of preparation, with which they may gain an admittatur—*with conditions.*

But ah! with all such professions of zeal for high scholarship and such claims of progress, how far short we fall of the European standard need not be confessed in this presence. The deficiencies in our best Colleges, to one who has witnessed the process or the results of the German method in particular, are appalling; and the observer may at first be disposed to depreciate unduly what is really accomplished by our

own system. He may well reflect, however, that with the pupil in a German Gymnasium or University, learning is the *end*; with us it is only a *means*. In them, moral influence and control, the moulding of character, is scarcely made of account; with us it is held to be essential. With them again, the wants and claims of society and of our fellow-men are not made a prominent end and aim of the great duty of life; with us the great lesson of Christ Jesus, that we are not to live for ourselves, is inculcated as the true end of our being. In a word our system embraces a distinct recognition of the religion of Christ throughout. The German trains and disciplines scholars,—ours, men; and it is a fair question, whether what we have as yet lost in the higher scholarship we do not gain in the broader culture of a true humanity. Let it be our aim, brothers, to do what we may to elevate the standard of our scholarship, that we may meet the pressing demands of the age, and to be yet more earnest in our efforts to invigorate the Christian life of the College.

Our Alma Mater, could she speak her mind in the ear of her children, would embrace this opportunity to reveal some secret causes of discontent. She must have a word with them; for who so interested as her own Alumni, and to whom can she look better for relief. She is too proud to ask alms. But with the rest of the sisterhood, she is dependent on her friends; and though she has reason to acknowledge kindnesses she has experienced, she confesses to some vanity to sustain herself respectably in the family. Some of her sons have planned an Alumni Hall for the public

occasions of the College, especially for such re-unions as the present, and for the Libraries of the Societies; and she pleads a strait for this convenience. Her Library is far below the times, even for an Institution which does not aspire to the compass of a University. The Philosopher of Malmsbury once said in his quaint manner: "if he had read as much as other men, he should have known as little." The *heluo librorum* is a *rara avis in his terris*, and it would not be well to stint the library in order to restrain the appetite for books. At this hour each department of instruction has most pressing wants, and might well be clamorous for a supply. The great deficiency of the country, a serious embarrassment and hindrance in any sphere of investigation, lies in the meagreness of the public libraries. All the college libraries in the United States would not make a Bodleian; and the Bodleian, it was affirmed not long since, receives larger additions in a single year, than Harvard in a quarter of a century.

Our Alma Mater, were opportunity given, could press the claims of our philosophical apparatus, of which she would blush to expose its inferiority to the world without. She would be grateful for the founding of prizes in the Classics, or Mathematics or Belles Lettres, as a means of quickening influence on many a studious, well deserving youth. The Berkeley premium at Yale, founded by the Bishop of Cloyne, has been won by many whose names are held in honor throughout New England. Above all would she say a word for many a virtuous youth, who, with aspirations kindled in some village home for the highest education

as a means of the highest good, at length is received to her embrace, not knowing whence his paltry exchequer is to be supplied for the expense of his college course; who through his four years scarcely knows a vacation; toils in the exhausting labor of a winter school, dire necessity compelling him even to encroach largely on the college term and study; then returns worn and weary to rejoin his class, with halting step to recover the ground he has lost by absence; and, with a spirit depressed by the anxieties which poverty only knows, under the burden of toil and care and effort beyond his strength to bear, to sink perhaps into an untimely grave. A comparatively trifling, stated relief might have cheered and spared him for useful life in the world; and Alma Mater asks her sons who have known such, and have sympathized with them, to afford the means of aid and relief. No disparagement, all know, is cast upon their fellow students when we say, that in every college from those who have been taught by bitter experience the full meaning of the *res angusta domi*, have come her most valued jewels. The history of the College affords at once an argument and a motive in favor of her appeal. In 1817 the liberality of the State of Massachusetts granted each of her colleges, Harvard, Williams, and Bowdoin, townships of land, a certain portion of the proceeds to be applied for the relief of deserving young men who needed such aid, in the relinquishment of the charge for tuition. At that time it was found that two-thirds of our students were from the wealthier class of the community. The immediate effect of the encouragement afforded by this wise and generous care

of the State for her children, was to reverse the proportion. No College can pursue a better policy than to offer inducements for that class of pupils who are likely to value most the advantages and privileges which it affords. Many of her sister Institutions offer such inducements at this time beyond what our Alma Mater can do.

We have been contemplating chiefly the past of the College, what it has accomplished, and that in a general and cursory way. What is to be its future? We believe broad foundations have been laid, in the right spirit, and the rising superstructure gladdens many eyes and encourages hope. For present and future prosperity, next to Him, without whom they that work labor in vain, our Alma Mater must look for her main reliance on her thousand sons. Her vigor and enlargement must depend on the quick and active sympathy which is fostered between her and them. If she prove not unworthy of them, they will not be unmindful of her. Over the great gate of the University of Padua the inscription is still read: "*Sic ingredere, ut te ipso quotidie doctior; sic egredere, ut in dies patrice christianæque reipublicæ utilior evadas.*" Alas, in poor Italy and under such a dominion, ecclesiastical and civil, a mere form of words! Let the sentiment there inscribed in living stone be in-wrought by faithful hands, day by day, into the minds and hearts of all who, generation after generation, gather within these Halls, and how will the prayers and hopes of the founders be realized! Then, here will be the seat of liberal learning and culture, and of a pure and elevated life.

In the name of my colleagues in the instruction of the College, a word of congratulation and most cordial greeting to the sons of Bowdoin who have come up to this home gathering. Some of us are yet young in this her most responsible service. Others, through many years of participation in this labor, have had more or less of agency in laying foundations for the larger part of those now assembled. One of our number, a singular example of energy, of promptness ever true to the hour, fidelity, and consummate skill in the lecture or reciting room, during fifty-three years, has taught every son of Bowdoin. Need we say, that teachers remember pupils;—often recall with vivid distinctness their familiar forms, as they sat long years ago in the reciting room; and that it causes a thrill of gratification to recognize them when they come back again? They trace them step by step in the progress of life, rejoice in their usefulness, feel themselves to be sharers in their successes, their honors, and their fame.—As their great reward, they would be remembered in return, so far as they deserve to be remembered for devotion to their trust, for jealous pride in the true honor and the highest welfare of pupils and of the College. In hours of anxiety and despondency no such voices of cheer and hope reach their ears, as those of Alma Mater's own sons, giving assurance of their active sympathy in whatever, amid the conflicts and struggles of the College, aims for the promotion of its highest interests and the establishment of truth and right.

THE CIVIL AND SACRED SABBATH.

THE facts of the last two eventful years of the Sabbath reform are deemed worthy of record. They complete the history of some of the most important enterprises undertaken by the Committee in previous years, and embody the incidents and results of other plans in behalf of the civil and sacred Sabbath. Covering a period of war and universal commotion, it is a matter of grateful wonder that this record of the progress of Christian Reform should be one of uniform success, under His benediction who makes even "the wrath of man to praise Him."

Abortive Efforts to Repeal our Sunday Laws.

The opposition to the measures for the preservation of our civil Sabbath culminated in the effort for the repeal of our Sunday laws in the Legislature of 1861; and, failing in this, the attempt was made to invalidate their constitutionality by the decision of appellate courts. The history of these efforts and of the measures to counteract them may be thus briefly given:

The vigorous enforcement of the Sunday Theatre Act of 1860, and the steady pressure of the Sunday Liquor Law, led the classes interested in the profits of Sunday immoralities to undertake a combined and energetic movement for the overthrow of these and all statutes for the protection of the Sabbath. They had done their utmost to resist the laws: they then clamored for their repeal. On the very first day of the session of the Legislature of 1861, members of the Senate and Assembly gave notice of Bills to amend or repeal the Sunday laws; and the contest was continued to the end of the Session. The Beer-Garden interest multiplied Petitions, some of them requesting the repeal of the Sunday Theatre laws, others demanding that all Sunday laws should be stricken from the statute-book. Deputation after deputation was sent to Albany; paid agents and attorneys were kept there through the winter; considerable sums of money were raised and expended, and several "mass meetings" were held—some of them on the Sabbath, in Sunday Theaters—to "promote civil and religious liberty" by opening the flood-gates of drunkenness and crime on the Lord's day! The Sunday

and German newspapers lent themselves heartily to this agitation, and were unsparing in their denunciation of those who adhered to the laws and customs of their fathers.

The Committee apprehended clearly the importance of the struggle, and took all needful measures to meet it. But, instead of eliciting popular remonstrances—which would have been overwhelming had the occasion demanded—it was deemed safe to leave the question with a Legislature intelligent enough to discover the source and object of the Repeal movement, and honest enough to frown upon it. The force of the Petitions for repeal was broken by an investigation which showed that instead of containing 25,000 to 100,000 names, as publicly claimed, they had in fact less than 8,000, gathered chiefly from Beer-Gardens and Dram-Shops; and that when compared with the Directory, an average of three-fourths of them were fictitious.

The effect of the "mass meetings" was neutralized by an enthusiastic meeting of Germans, numbering some 3,000, in Cooper Institute, which was addressed by German and English speakers, lay and clerical, and, with a single dissenting voice—the whole assembly rising—passed the following resolutions:

"Resolved, That the rights of laboring men to a weekly season of rest, of Christians to a day of worship, and of all citizens to a periodical exemption from traffic, care, and noise, as secured by the laws of this and other States, are among the inalienable and most precious rights of freemen; and that every attempt to invade or pervert them, by making the common rest-day a period of trade, dissipation, or folly, tends to subject labor to capital, to debase public and private morals, to weaken the restraints of religion, and to undermine our free, self-governing institutions.

"Resolved, That we therefore earnestly deprecate and protest against the repeal of the existing laws which protect the civil Sabbath from the most dangerous and offensive forms of popular demoralization—the Sunday Liquor-Traffic and Beer-Garden theatrical exhibitions."

This demonstration—the effect of which was not lessened by an attempt of the theatre proprietors to interrupt and break up the meeting—revealed the existence of a powerful element within the bosom of the German community in full sympathy with the better sentiment of the American population on the question in dispute. The proceedings were communicated to the Legislature, and had no little influence in defeating the plans of the anti-Sunday combination. They were also published in German as Doc. No. XVI., and widely circulated in this country and in Germany.

While the House Committee on Cities and Villages had the

petitions and bill for repeal under advisement, a delegation from the Sabbath Committee, consisting of the Chairman and Secretary, with Messrs. Foster and Schwab, appeared before them and had a full hearing. They were confronted by a German agent of the Beer Gardens. A majority of the Committee—consisting wholly of members from New York and Brooklyn—reported a bill which ignored the specific repealing measures prayed for, but exempted “lager beer, ale, and other malt liquors” from the operation of the Excise and Sunday laws, and provided that their “sale shall henceforth be lawful upon *any day of the week.*” The minority of the Committee—consisting of Messrs. Ball, Prendergast and Angel—presented an able Counter Report, defending the Sunday Laws, and exposing the injury to public morals of the proposed measure. The Sunday Beer-Garden Bill was laid on the table by the decisive vote of 70 to 23—all but five of the minority being members from New York and its immediate vicinity. This ended the contest for the Repeal of our Sunday Laws. It is not likely to be renewed.

The Constitutionality of Sunday Laws Settled.

It is not known that the constitutionality of our statutes for the protection of the Sabbath had ever been seriously questioned, since the foundation of our State government, until the beginning of the present movement for restraining gross Sunday immoralities. The question, at least, had not been adjudicated. But, at an early stage of the reform, the Sunday press, English and German, denounced all such legislation as an invasion of civil and religious liberty, and stimulated the classes interested in Sunday trade and amusements to resist the authorities who should attempt to enforce these “un-constitutional” acts. False issues were multiplied, and the dealers in liquor and lager, and the keepers of noisy gardens and theatres, were made to believe that they were shielded from legal restraint by the fundamental provision which guarantees “the free exercise and enjoyment of *religious* profession and worship;” overlooking the important guard of the same section: “but the liberty of conscience hereby secured, shall not be so construed as to excuse acts of licentiousness, or justify practices inconsistent with the peace or safety of this State.”

In the successive suits for the violation of the Sunday theatre act, the constitutional question was raised, before Justice Bonney of the Supreme Court, Justice Hoffman of the Superior Court, and Justice Gould in the court of Oyer and Terminer; and in every instance it was settled affirmatively. From the last named decision, in the case of the People vs. Lindenmüller, an appeal was taken to the General Term of the Supreme Court, Justices Clerke, Sutherland, and Allen.

The question was ably argued for the People, by Assistant District Attorney Anthon, and by Mr. Clinton, for the Plaintiff in Error. The opinion of the court was rendered May 29th, 1861, by the Hon. W. F. Allen, Justice, his associates concurring. It is the most elaborate and conclusive discussion of the rights and relations of the civil Sabbath extant. The principles settled are thus condensed by the Reporter of the Court :

“Every act done maliciously, tending to bring religion into contempt, may be punished at common law : and the Christian Sabbath, as one of the institutions of that religion, may be protected from desecration by such laws as the Legislature, in their wisdom, may deem necessary to secure to the community the privilege of undisturbed worship, and to the day itself that outward respect and observance which may be deemed essential to the peace and good order of society, and to preserve religion and its ordinances from open reviling and contempt.

“Upon this ground the ‘Act to preserve the public peace and order on the first day of the week, commonly called Sunday,’ passed April 17th, 1860, prohibiting exhibitions or dramatic performances on Sunday, can be sustained ; the Legislature being the sole judges of the acts proper to be prohibited, with a view to the public peace, and as obstructing religious worship, and bringing into contempt the religious institutions of the people.

“The act is clearly *constitutional*, as dealing with and having respect to the Sabbath as a civil and political institution, and not affecting to interfere with religious belief or worship, faith or practice.

“In the State of New York, the Sabbath exists as a day of rest by common law, and without the necessity of legislative action to establish it : and all that the Legislature attempt to do in the ‘Sabbath Laws’ is to regulate its observance.”

It was hoped that the question might be carried to the Court of Appeals, so as to have a final and irrevocable settlement of the matter at issue. But the lapse of nearly two years, with no apparent purpose to contest the decision of the Supreme Court, and with the general acquiescence of the classes who alone are interested in the attempt to reverse it, prompts the belief that that decision will stand permanently as the judicial exposition of the relations of the Sabbath to our organic law. It thus becomes the basis for all needful legislation, and strips the enemies of the sacred day of the last plausible excuse for their selfish and demoralizing business.

Judge Allen’s admirable opinion, besides its place in the series of Reports of the Supreme Court, was published in the *American Theological Review* ; in an authorized abridgment as Doc. No. XVIII.

of the Committee's Series ; and in many of the secular and religious journals of the day. Its importance has never been overrated ; its influence will not be confined to our own State, or to our own generation.

"Concert Saloons."

The "Concert Saloon" system was an offshoot from the Beer-Garden Theatres, and had a growth of such rapid and sturdy wickedness as to alarm every friend of public morals. As a Sunday nuisance it was abated with Sunday theatricals. But it was so utterly infamous in its character and so demoralizing in its influence, on other days, that the Grand Jury presented the iniquity for Legislative prohibition. The session of 1862 was much agitated with this question. The same arts were resorted to as in resisting the passage of the Sunday Theatre Act, but with like ill success. The bill for the "Regulation of Places of Public Amusement" was finally passed *unanimously* in the Assembly, and with but two or three dissenting votes in the Senate. Its enforcement was promptly entered upon by the Police Department, and scores of vile "Saloons" were broken up or abandoned the prohibited form of temptation to vice. It is hoped that the attempt to reinstate this iniquitous system, or to evade the plain provisions of law, will be promptly suppressed. The constitutionality of the act was contested ; but the decision of Recorder Hoffman settled the question so completely that no appeal was taken to higher courts. An incidental bearing of the law on theatres and concert halls, in the exclusion of intoxicating liquors from the premises, has abated one of the evils of these establishments. No formal identification of the Committee with this important Reform was consistent with its single object ; but individual members of the Committee lent it active and efficient support.

The Sunday Liquor Traffic.

Less attention has been given to this question during the past two years than in preceding years, because of the pressure of other important interests, and because it was supposed the principles controlling the course of public authorities were substantially settled. Various emergencies, however, have demanded vigilance. So large and profitable a trade could not be restrained without innumerable attempts at the evasion or resistance of law.

The open traffic in liquors on Sunday has, for the most part, ceased ; and the public scandal and temptation to drunkenness is thus far removed. But there are not a few dram-shops provided with back or side entrances, still admitting the victims of intemperance to their debauch. In some of the Police Precincts, and especially

in the Fifth, the officers of law have been persistent in their efforts to suppress this wrong, under the direction and with the cordial support of the Commissioners and Superintendent of Police. A considerable number of arrests were made, and the bad traffic came to be hazardous and unprofitable. Even the reluctance of some of the Police Justices to execute the law when offenders were brought before them, did not fully meet the demands of the Sunday dram-sellers: it was inconvenient to be arrested. So an issue was made—the City Judge issuing a writ of *habeas corpus* at midnight, returnable “forthwith” at the Clerk’s Office, in the City Hall; and when the officer availed himself of the legal period of twenty-four hours to make his return, an attachment was issued against him. The issue thus joined between the Court and the liquor-dealers, on the one hand, and the Police and the public, on the other, awakened general interest. The court-room was crowded with the adherents of the rum power, summoned thither by a secret circular addressed “To the Liquor Dealers of the 5th Ward,” which closed with the exhortation, “Now is the time to strike for your preservation!” Notwithstanding the action of the District Attorney, removing the case from *that* Court, His Honor saw fit to deliver an *ex cathedra* opinion expounding the statutes affecting this question, quite to the meriment of the Bench and the Bar. His definition of “Beverage” as “the *act* of publicly, with open doors, selling and drinking spirituous liquors,” etc., became the butt of newspaper ridicule; and his whole midnight demonstration in favor of Sunday dissipation reacted on the bad cause it was intended to aid. His attachment against Captain Petty for “contempt of court” was issued; but the District Attorney procured a Writ of Prohibition from the Supreme Court, which thwarted the petty tyranny contemplated.

The efforts to invalidate the action of the Police under the forty-second section of the Metropolitan Police Act were more successful. For some unexplained reason, instead of proceeding under the Excise Law, the police authorities saw fit to make complaints or arrests under the provision of the Police Act which prohibits the “publicly keeping or exposing for sale,” to which the statute affixes a civil penalty, with a doubtful allusion to the “law for the arrest of offenders,” but with no clause declaring the offense a *misdemeanor*. The Recorder decided, that criminal proceedings can not be had under this section; and the Supreme Court has approved his decision; but the Recorder indicates the remedy for the evil against which the inadequate Police Act was claimed to point, when he says:—

“The Excise Law of 1857 is in full force, which makes it a *misdemeanor*—

meanor for any inn or tavern keeper, or licensed person, to sell or give away any intoxicating liquors on Sunday as a beverage, and which also makes it a misdemeanor for any person not licensed to sell liquors at all; so that, without the aid of the law of 1860, those who violated the sanctity of the Sabbath in that respect could be prosecuted as criminals."

This is the first judicial recognition in this city, it is believed, of the validity of a law which has been on the statute-book for a period of six years, adjudicated, and its constitutionality affirmed by the highest courts. It is time that the process of nullification was made public: for, if secret conspiracies may succeed in paralyzing the administration of justice as affecting one large interest, why may not all laws restraining classes of evil-doers be set aside? Extracts from two secret circulars will show that, back of our political organizations, is an organized power skillfully employed to warp or intimidate and control candidates and electors, and thus render inoperative the statutes intended to protect the community from a traffic more than any other responsible for abounding pauperism, taxation, and crime.

Secret Circulars.

New York Liquor Dealers Association to candidates for office:

"WHEREAS, we now number in this city ten thousand active and energetic men, all legal voters, and knowing as we do the power we can exercise through the ballot-box towards redressing our wrongs, if we act in concert, we have resolved to pledge ourselves to act in unison and concert, as one man, upon all questions that can in any way affect our interests, and to *support no candidate* for office, who cannot give us satisfactory assurance that he is in favor of the immediate repeal of the oppressive *excise law* as it now exists." * * *

"Now therefore, it is

"*Resolved*, That we propound to each candidate for office, the following questions, the answer to which, we will consider as our property, to make public at our discretion:—

"*First*, Do you approve of the law known as an 'Act to suppress intemperance,' passed April 16th, 1857?

"*Second*, Would you, if elected to the office for which you are now a candidate, countenance or sustain such an excise law," etc.

May not the pledges thus made as a condition of office account for the delay and frustration of justice in all matters affecting the liquor trade?

The power wielded so successfully in this city aspires to control the Legislature of the State as well. In 1861, a State organization was founded, with "one active reliable dealer from each town and ward" in every county, and assessing "distillers, brewers, wholesale liquor-houses, hotels, saloons, farmers, and hop-growers," amounts

varying from \$1 to \$25, severally, "to defeat oppressive and nefarious legislation!" "We *must* fight now," they say, "or lose our rights forever."

In 1862, this combination numbered *seventy-one thousand* members in the State of New York. A secret circular addressed to the individual conspirators just before the last election, reads thus:—

"As a member of the New York Liquor Dealers' Society, *you are under obligations to vote for such candidates as they may select*, if you wish to retain the advantages of membership. The State convention unanimously selected ———, who must receive your vote and your active support, or the iron heel of tyranny will trample on your constitutional privileges. * * * If you support ———, *as you are bound to*, they will be elected; but remember, that if you fail to do so, you will justify your oppressors. FOR GOOD REASONS, we do not deem it for our interest to select from the various nominations of candidates for ———, leaving it for you to ascertain *before you vote*, whether the candidates you fix upon are opposed to Prohibition and Fanaticism, and reminding you of our motto, 'he that is not for us is against us.'"

—————, Secretary. —————, President.

Few American citizens can fail to see that law and republican government are a delusion, if they can shelter or be made the instruments of such secret foes to social order.

Statistical Results of the Reform.

A comparison of the data furnished by the Police Returns of arrests for crime and disorder on the Sundays and Tuesdays of successive years warrants the following generalization:

1. The enforcement of the Sunday laws has resulted in making the Sabbath Day the most orderly of the days of the week, instead of the most immoral, as formerly.

2. The arrests for crime have increased or diminished in the measure of obedience to these laws, not only on the Sundays, but on all other days.

3. The two years of civil war have been the period of *improved* public morals in this metropolis as compared with any recent period of our history.

Summary of the Returns of Arrests by the Police from Aug. 1, 1859, to Jan. 1, 1863, on the Sundays and Tuesdays of each week:

	Tuesdays.	Sundays.
From Aug. 1, '59, to Jan. 1, '61 (17 mos.)	14,826	9,734
" Jan. 1, '61, to Jan. 1, '62 (1 year)	10,486	7,985
" Jan. 1, '62, to Jan. 1, '63 (1 year)	11,051	9,553
Totals for 3 years and 5 mos	36,363	27,272

[The arrests for Sunday violations are not included in this summary.]

Similar returns for the period of 18 months preceding Aug., '59, *under the same police system*, showed an average *excess of Sunday arrests*, over those of Tuesday, equal to twenty-five per cent; but that was the period of unrestricted temptations. There is no reason to doubt that a continuance of the cause would have perpetuated the effects; so that, but for the enforcement of the Sunday Law, the actual number of arrests, instead of being 27,272 for the Sundays of three years and five months, would have been 45,453,—showing a *saving* of arrests for crime and disorder on this single day of 18,181 cases, or an average of more than one hundred each Sabbath.

It will also be seen that there has been a slight retrogression in the scale of improvement during the past year, resulting, it is believed, from the opposition of judicial officers to the enforcement of a wholesome statute, and the encouragement to wrong-doers consequent on the abuse of official power.

On the 28th of March, '63, the energetic Superintendent of Police issued a general order to the Captains of Precincts, directing complaints to be made against all parties violating the 42d Section of the Met. Police Act, and suggesting that "all persons licensed to sell liquors are prohibited from selling or giving away any intoxicating liquors or wines on Sunday, and persons who shall sell intoxicating liquors on Sunday, or any other day, without license, are liable to the penalties provided by law." This must be presumed to intimate the intention of the Police authorities to enter on the enforcement of the statute of 1857, which expressly provides that "it shall be the duty of every sheriff, *policeman*, &c., to arrest all persons found actually engaged in the commission of any offence in violation of this (Excise) act," etc. Otherwise, it is a mere *brutum fulmen*. If executed, the Sunday liquor traffic would cease.

The apprehension that the stringent provisions of the Excise Law against unlicensed and Sunday liquor selling might be duly enforced, led to an effort in the Legislature of 1863 to amend that law so as to abrogate the misdemeanor clause; but the amendment failed by a decisive vote, and it remains for the officers of law to execute the Statute as it stands.

The Superintendent of Police introduces his recent General Order thus:

"The good order that has been preserved in the cities of New York and Brooklyn on the Sabbath Day, since the enforcement of the 42d Section of the Police Law, *has marked an era in the history of both these cities*," etc. The Committee would cheerfully accord to the Police authorities a full measure of commendation for the condition of things thus rejoiced in, and would unite with all good citizens in the hope that no political intrigue, or official delinquency,

will be suffered to interrupt the reign of an "era" so full of blessing and promise.

The Sunday Press.

An important decision of the Court of Appeals, on an appeal from the Supreme Court in the case of *Smith versus Wilcox*, settles the question as to the legal *status* of Sunday Newspapers. The proprietors of the *Sunday Courier* brought an action to recover the price contracted to be paid for business advertising. The claim was resisted on the ground that the contract and the publication were in contravention of the law for the observance of Sunday; and the plaintiff was non-suited on this ground. Rosevelt, Justice.

Allen, J., (all the Judges concurring) held that the statute regulating the observance of Sunday, and prohibiting labor and traffic on that day, other than "works of necessity and charity," is in harmony with the religion of the country and the religious sentiment of the public, and for the support of public morals and good order. Its design is not to compel the religious observance of the day, but to secure that outward respect and observance to the acknowledged Sabbath of the great mass of the people, to protect religion from contempt, and its professors from molestation. Sunday laws are remedial statutes, to be construed liberally in the suppression of the mischiefs contemplated. So our courts have always ruled—all acts within the statute having been regarded as illegal, and all contracts involving a violation of those laws void. We quote from the opinion these suggestive paragraphs:

"The service to be rendered by the plaintiffs was the publication of an advertisement in a Sunday newspaper. There is no pretense that it was a work of necessity and charity, either to publish the paper or the advertisement, even if it could be brought within the section of which the exception in favor of works of 'necessity and charity' forms a part. The advertisement was published with, and as incidental to, the publication of the paper, and the contract must be assumed to have contemplated the service to be performed in the usual way, and as it was in truth done. The papers were sold on Sunday at a public place provided by the plaintiffs, the proprietors, for that purpose; that was the publication, and that the service agreed to be performed, and for which they now ask compensation.

"The publication of the advertisement was to be and was by a public sale of the newspaper in which it was printed on Sunday. The opening of a place for the sale and actual selling of newspapers is within the mischiefs which the act for the observance of Sunday was designed to remedy. It disturbs the public peace and quiet; interferes with the proper religious observance of the day; is opposed to good morals, and tends to draw men away from the duties of piety and religion, and can not be distinguished from traffic in any other article which is the subject of sale in market. It matters not what the character of the paper or the character of the advertisement published for the defendants may have been. Neither were 'meats, milk, or fish,' and therefore were not within the articles excepted from the prohibition, and even if it were within the other section of the statute, it would be difficult to prove that the sale of the most unexceptionable religious newspaper was an act of 'necessity and charity.'

"The statute is very comprehensive, and has sought to use terms which would embrace every article which could be sold in market. It prohibits the exposure

and sale of all 'wares, merchandise, fruit, herbs, goods, or chattels.' Everything which is the subject of property, and which may be exposed to sale must be included under some of these terms. A newspaper is the subject of property, and when it is made the subject of sale in places opened for that purpose, it is certainly merchandise. Newspapers are made merchandise when they are sold, either at wholesale or retail, as other articles are sold which have ever been usually regarded as merchandise. This mode of publication by selling newspapers in large packages to be resold by the purchaser, or at retail by the single paper, is of comparatively modern introduction; but as in this way the character of merchandise is given to the paper, the business of selling and exposing to sale the newspapers must be governed by the general laws affecting similar dealing in other articles of merchandise. It is exposing an article to sale that constitutes the offense, and not the character of the article, unless it is among the exceptions in the act. 'Goods, wares, and merchandise' include all movable property that is ordinarily bought and sold. 'Chattels' is more comprehensive than 'goods,' and includes animate property. (2 Ch. Pl. 55, n. [r].) The plaintiffs necessarily, in the performance of their agreement, by the publication of the advertisement, violated the letter as well as the spirit of the act prohibiting the exposure of merchandise for sale on Sunday, and no action will lie upon such contract. In a sense it was a contract by the plaintiffs for the performance of servile work on the Sabbath. They agreed to publish and circulate the advertisement of the defendants on Sunday by delivering a copy to each of their customers who should buy of them a copy of their paper, and incidentally they agreed to expose for sale, and sell on that day their paper containing the advertisement. This was servile work in the same sense that the service of the attorney's clerk was, or that of a salesman in a dry goods store would be. The contract was void, and the judgment must be affirmed."

It is occasion for gratitude to God that the influence of our higher courts is given to the support of laws so vitally related to the physical and moral well-being of society as those which guard the Sabbath. Avarice and godless pleasure crowd hard on the barriers which Infinite wisdom and human legislation have thrown across their pathway; and they would subsidize politics, the press, the judiciary, everything, if they might, to their insatiable longings. Happily, the statutes of our fathers abide; all attempts to repeal or invalidate them have proved abortive. Local justices may pander to the base designs of lawless men; but, to the honor of our appellate courts be it said, the rights of Christian citizens in this behalf and the needs of society have been uniformly vindicated and asserted, so that the Sunday Laws of New York are immovably settled.

The Sabbath in Civil War.

The two years under review have been years of peril to the Sabbath and related interests. War is proverbially demoralizing in its influence: the besom of civil war has usually swept away, for the time, the barriers of morals and religion, and has left the task of restoration to after generations. That these vital interests have suffered so little amidst the excitements and upheavals of our struggle for the nation's life is an anomaly which baffles philosophy, and which can only be resolved by devout reference to the ever-watchful Providence of the Lord of the Sabbath and the God of Battles.

The Committee could not but observe the early tendency of events to turn back the tide of reform then in progress. For a season our thoroughfares were thronged with military processions and popular demonstrations on the Sabbath. The engrossment of the Police with the recruiting service, and the questionable arts of many recruiting officers, with the diversion of public attention from all matters not immediately related to warlike preparations, gave temporary license to classes needing the restraints of law. The Committee felt the profoundest solicitude on this subject, and were constrained to the utmost vigilance combined with prudence to meet the exigency. Happily, it was but temporary. The danger having been calmly pointed out in a public appeal in behalf of "The Sabbath in War," [Doc. No. XVII.,] measures were taken by the Police, seconded by the Press and the public, to hold what had been gained, and to ward off the perils which threatened important public interests. Our State military authorities coöperated, and forbore to make the Sabbath the season for moving regiments through the city for the seat of war, as theretofore. The metropolis soon recovered its usual aspect of quiet and order, and the selfish classes came again under legal restraint. Thenceforward, the city has been as orderly, for the most part, during the period of war as in any previous years of its modern history.

But it was soon apparent that the unwonted business of war had brought with it its usual concomitants along the lines of the army. The tenor of the army correspondence of all the Journals and the notorious facts of Sunday engagements indicated an almost utter recklessness of the claims of the Sabbath, on either sanitary or moral grounds. The evil culminated in the disastrous battle of Bull Run. The nation was scarcely less humiliated by the shameful panic which seized and scattered the Union forces than by the fact that, while contending for a righteous cause, they had been led into needless and so unwarrantable conflict with the eternal rule of right. The voice of earnest remonstrance arose on every side. The Committee, though organized for local purposes, yet being the only organization prominently charged with the care of this interest, deemed it expedient to embody their deliberate views of this question in a document entitled "*A Plea for the Sabbath in War*," (No. XIX.,) which was widely published in newspaper and pamphlet form, and communicated to civil and military officers and to the soldiers.

A copy of this document was forwarded, August 30th, 1861, to the newly-appointed General Commanding the Army of the Potomac, General McClellan, accompanied by a private note from a source claiming "more than a mere patriot's interest in his public

career," and soliciting his influence in averting the terrible evil to the army and the country of a Sabbath-breaking military *regime*. On the 6th of September ensuing, the following admirable General Order was issued:—

"HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE POTOMAC, }
WASHINGTON, Sept. 6, 1861. }

[*General Orders, No. 7.*]

"The Major-General Commanding desires and requests that in future there may be more perfect respect for the Sabbath on the part of his command. We are fighting in a holy cause, and should endeavor to deserve the benign favor of the Creator. Unless in the case of an attack by the enemy, or some other extreme military necessity, it is commended to commanding officers that all work shall be suspended on the Sabbath; that no unnecessary movements shall be made on that day; that the men shall, so far as possible, be permitted to rest from their labors; that they shall attend divine service after the customary Sunday morning inspection; and that officers and men shall alike use their influence to insure the utmost decorum and quiet on that day. The General Commanding regards this as no idle form; one day's rest in seven is necessary to men and animals: more than this, the observance of the holy day of the God of Mercy and of Battles is our sacred duty.

"GEO. B. McCLELLAN, *Major-General Commanding.*
Official: A. V. COLBURN, Assistant Adjutant-General."

Perhaps no single utterance of the sort was ever more timely or welcome to an army or a nation. It was hailed by the troops as a guarantee of rights previously ignored; and by the country as a recognition of obligations too little heeded. Its practical results were recognized by many observers, and denied by no one.

In the autumn of 1861, the Committee were impressed with the necessity of still further efforts to preserve our Sabbath from the effects of war. The President had summoned 600,000 additional volunteers to the field. Every city and town in the country was converted into a recruiting place. The mustering and movements of troops toward camps of instruction, or to the seat of war, became the occupation of the country; and the silent pleading of Sabbath hours was too little heeded in home or camp. There remained the expedient of invoking the intervention of the Commander-in-Chief of our Army and Navy, whose authority, wisely exercised, might shield our new forces from the wrongs of a Sabbathless policy, and whose position would give weight with the country to the truths on this subject he might see fit to utter.

With this view, a Deputation from the Committee, consisting of their Chairman and Secretary, with Messrs. Hoadley, Winston, Booth, Foster, and Schwab, waited on the President at the Executive Mansion, Nov. 13, accompanied by the Secretaries of War and

Navy, Rear-Admiral Foote, and others, and introduced by Governor Morgan, of New York. An address was presented [see "*The Soldier's and Sailor's Sabbath*, No. XXIII.") to which the President made a brief and appropriate response. After the lapse of time sufficient to consult his Cabinet, he issued the following General Order to the Army and Navy :—

"EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, NOV. 15, 1862.

"The President, Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, desires and enjoins the orderly observance of the Sabbath, by the officers and men in the military and naval service. The importance for man and beast of the prescribed weekly rest, the sacred rights of Christian soldiers and sailors, a becoming deference to the best sentiment of a Christian people, and a due regard for the Divine Will, demand that Sunday labor in the army and navy be reduced to the measure of strict necessity. The discipline and character of the National forces should not suffer, nor the cause they defend be imperiled, by the profanation of the day or name of the Most High. 'At this time of public distress,' adopting the words of Washington in 1776, 'Men may find enough to do in the service of God and their country, without abandoning themselves to vice and immorality.' The first general order issued by the Father of his Country, after the Declaration of Independence, indicates the spirit in which our institutions were founded and should ever be defended :—'*The General hopes and trusts that every officer and man will endeavor to live and act as becomes a Christian soldier, defending the dearest rights and liberties of his country.*'

"ABRAHAM LINCOLN."

This important order was telegraphed to the Associated Press throughout the country, and in a day's time was read by millions of the people. It appeared in the German, French, and other journals in foreign tongues, published in this country. It passed into the General Orders of the Army, to be read at the head of every regiment. It was embodied in document No. XXIII. of the Committee, with the facts of the interview with the President. It has been widely published in European journals. It has gone into the history of our times, as one of the most honorable and useful of the acts of our Chief Magistrate. It will remain a precedent to our rulers while the nation endures. We believe this emphatic rebuke of the "profanation of the Day and Name of the Most High" to have been pleasing to Him on whose sovereign will our nation's life and destiny depend.

The fact having reached the Committee through an officer of the Pacific Squadron that the President's order had not been promulgated in the Navy, inquiries on the subject were instituted at Washington, and the Secretary promptly took the following action :

"General Order, No. 5.

NAVY DEPARTMENT, FEB. 10, 1863.

"The following General Order of the President is published for the information and government of the officers and others of the Naval Service.

"GIDEON WELLES, *Secretary of the Navy.*"

Rear-Admiral Foote, whose characteristic ardor in every good work facilitated this prompt action, writes to the Committee: "I have sent more than one hundred of the enclosed circulars (containing the orders of the President and Secretary Welles), to the vessels comprising the different squadrons. . . . I will write to some of the Admirals on the subject, and do everything that will be effective in the case."

The secular and religious Press has taken a decided stand in favor of the Sabbath during the war, and has seconded with vigor and ability the various measures employed for its preservation. The impressive lessons of Providence in connection with the history of Sunday battles have arrested the attention of all thoughtful minds. The fact will enter into the records of the Great American Rebellion, that, almost without exception, *the assailing party in Sunday warfare, whether Union or Confederate, has been defeated.* The facts presented in the editorial columns of the *Daily Times*, after a year of war—quoted below—are substantially true of the second year: only that the common experience of disaster in aggressive Sunday engagements; the growing sentiment in the army and the country against Sunday fighting; and the important General Orders on this subject, have rendered such battles quite infrequent, if they have not wholly ceased. The *Times* (April 11, '62) has the following suggestive leader:

Sunday Battles.

"The late terrible struggle at Pittsburgh adds another to the long list of Sunday battles. The facts are so clear in this and numerous other conflicts, and the results have been so uniform and decisive, that comment is not only warranted but demanded, alike by philosophy, patriotism, and piety. The general statement cannot be gainsaid, that the more important movements of the National forces, in the early stages of the present war, were made on Sunday; and that they were undeniable failures. PATTERSON'S column was constantly notorious for its manœuvring on Sundays—and for little else. Big Bethel, Bull Run, and Ball's Bluff were the great blunders and defeats of attacking armies on Sunday. All these engagements, excepting Ball's Bluff, under the now imprisoned Gen. Stone, preceded Gen. McClellan's noble Shbbath order. Thenceforward the rebels have made the Sunday assaults, with invariable loss of the battles thus waged. Mill Spring opened their career of Sunday fighting, which closes with Pittsburgh. The battle of Winchester was begun on Sunday morning. The first of these battles cost the rebels Kentucky; the second, the valley of Virginia; and the third, the Mississippi Valley. The *Merrimac*, too, after its destructive Saturday's raid, ran a muck against the *Monitor* on Sunday, and has spent a month in repairing damages.

"Add to the facts, that most of the Generals Commanding, whose names figure as assailants in these battles, were slain in them, or are in disgrace on account of them, and there is food for reflection in these bits of history. What has become of our Gen. PIERCE, of Big Bethel memory? What of Gen. STONE? Where are ZOL-LICOFFER and SIDNEY JOHNSTON? In short, since we have ceased the business of Sunday fighting and the rebels took it up, we have had only victories to record, and they only defeats and surrenders. Fort Donelson and Island No. 10, were our Sunday morning benison on week-day prowess.

"Nor are these isolated historical facts. History is full of them. The British forces assailed us on Lake Champlain and at New Orleans on Sunday, and were defeated. We assailed them at Quebec; our army was repulsed and its leader slain. We began the battle of Monmouth, and had the worst of it. NAPOLEON began the battle of Waterloo on Sunday, and lost his army and his empire. The battle of Blenheim, which has been repeatedly cited by the *Herald*, with its usual accuracy, as a successful Sunday battle, was not fought on Sunday, but began on Wednesday.

"We content ourselves with the simple collation of these suggestive facts. Let them go to swell that mighty volume of testimony to the supremacy and stability of a law as old as creation, which claims quite other use of one-seventh part of time than the work of willing human butchery."

THE SACRED SABBATH.

The preceding notices of the enterprises undertaken by the Committee have had almost exclusive reference to the *civil* Sabbath. Its *sacred* claims and relations have come to occupy attention in the progress of the reform; and the Committee have rejoiced at the arrival of the period when they could turn from civil, judicial, and military authorities, whose intervention was necessary to restrain the selfish and disorderly classes, to take counsel with the ministry and the churches as to moral and spiritual interests identified with Christ's kingdom. While there is reason to believe that the discussion and settlement of constitutional and legal questions, and the disentangling of the blended civil and sacred relations of the Sabbath, may have prepared the way for juster views and wiser action within the churches, a great work remains to be done in bringing the Christian community up to the proper standard of intelligent interest in, and observance of, the divinely appointed season of spiritual worship. The measures suited to this end will take their direction from current Providences; but they will occupy increased attention as the civil defences already restored prove to be permanent and enduring. The Committee rely on the Gospel ministry and the friends of religion for cordial co-operation, as successive plans are developed looking to the more complete sanctification of the Sabbath, in the household, the church, and the Christian community.

Circular Letter to the Clergy.

In the Autumn of 1861, the Committee thought it expedient to address a circular letter to the clergy, [*The Sabbath and the Pulpit*,

Doc. No. XX.] directing attention to the Providences which had given prominence to this question in unprejudiced aspects, and soliciting the vigorous and prudent co-operation of the Pulpit. Some 5,000 copies of this Letter were sent to the pastors of different denominations in all parts of the country, and the periodical press gave it still wider currency. There is reason to believe that very many of the ministers of the Gospel gave attention to the request, and that important influences were thus brought to bear in the formation of that healthful sentiment which, more than anything else, is necessary to the general observance of sacred time.

Course of Sabbath Sermons.

With the same general purpose in view, the Committee made arrangements for a series of sermons on the Sabbath question, in the winter and spring of 1862, which excited unprecedented interest, and resulted in manifest good. The Rev. N. L. Rice, D. D., preached in his own church, on *The Origin and History of the Sabbath*; the Rev. Wm. Hague, D. D., in the Coll. R. D. church in Fifth av., on its *Authority and Perpetuity*; the Rev. H. D. Ganse, in the Madison Square Pres. church, on its *Duties*; the Rev. Wm. Adams, D. D., in the Coll. R. D. church, on its *Benefits*; the Rev. Dr. Foster, in the Madison av. Baptist church, on its *Abuses*; the Rev. A. H. Vinton, D. D., in St. George's, on its *Civil Relations*; and the Rev. Phil. Schaff, D. D., of Mercersburg, Pa., in St. Mark's church, (Lutheran,) comparing the *Theory and Results of the American and European Sabbaths*. The latter discourse was in German, and was repeated in English in the Fifth Avenue Pres. church. The attendance on these several discourses was very large, in several instances far exceeding the capacity of the most spacious churches in the city.

Five of these discourses were at the request of the Committee furnished for the press, and Messrs. Carter & Bros. undertook their publication—the Secretary of the Committee furnishing a historical sketch of the Sabbath Reform, as an introduction to the volume. Though issued at the most engrossing period of civil war, “THE CHRISTIAN SABBATH”—which is the title of the volume—has had a satisfactory circulation, and will form a standard book on this subject.

The sermon of the Rev. Dr. Vinton, on the Civil Relations of the Sabbath, was published separately in the “PULPIT AND THE ROSTRUM;” and a member of Ascension church contributed \$50, for the distribution by post, of an edition among the officers of the army.

A similar course of Sabbath sermons was delivered in Boston, on the successive Sunday evenings of March and April, 1862, by the Rev. Drs. Adams, Kirk, Blagden, and Stone, and the Rev. Messrs. Webb,

Todd, Dexter, and Manning. They discussed the relations of the Sabbath to man's physical life; to his intellectual life; to his spiritual life; to his social, economical, and political life; and to the Divine Law: the proper way to keep the Sabbath in and outside of the family; and a consideration of objections against the Sabbath.

The efforts of the Committee for the circulation of the volume—"The Christian Sabbath"—among Pastors and others, are detailed in another paragraph, on the co-operation of the clergy.

A New and Standard Sabbath Volume.

During the Secretary's visit to Scotland in 1857, he met the Rev. James Gilfillan, of Stirling, who was then completing a work on the Sabbath question which had occupied his leisure hours for a quarter of a century. He also visited John Henderson, Esq., of Glasgow, the most energetic and liberal of the European friends of the Sabbath. [See "The Sabbath in Europe," Doc. No. IV, pp. 2-4.] Within the last year, the valuable work of the Rev. Mr. Gilfillan has appeared from the Edinboro' press, and through the kindness of the author and Mr. Henderson, copies were presented to members of the Committee. It seemed desirable that a volume of so much research and standard value should be made accessible to American readers; but the state of affairs in this country was not such as to invite the stereotyping and republication of a large and expensive volume.

In these circumstances, a note was addressed to Mr. Henderson, suggesting that it would be "a fitting supplement to his long and beneficent labors and gifts for the sanctification of the Lord's Day," that he should provide a set of stereotype plates of Gilfillan, for the Committee's use. "Would it not be a fitting *finale* of the war-fever [about the *Trent* affair] so rife of late, that leaden types should be sent from Great Britain to bless and save us, instead of leaden bullets to destroy us?" With characteristic liberality, Mr. Henderson gave prompt encouragement of aid in this good work, and in a note written Sept. 26, '62, informing of the shipment of the plates, he says: "I have perfect confidence in the wisdom and earnestness of your Committee, and feel that they will do what they can to spread broad-cast over the land a volume in which the Sabbath question is so fully, ably, and exhaustively discussed. It will be a great gratification to me, if by this small contribution to the cause of God, I should be instrumental in deepening in the minds of any American brethren a regard for the sacred day of rest, and strengthening those principles which are the best security for a nation's prosperity and progress. The friends of Christ and of the Sabbath in this country deeply grieve over the calamities with which yours is at present afflicted, and earnestly pray that the war in which you are

now engaged may be brought to a speedy and satisfactory close, to be followed by a long Sabbatism of peace and prosperity."

The Cunard Steamship Company generously brought the boxes of plates (635) without charge for freight, and they were received from the Custom House without charge for duties; so that this valuable work, the expense of stereotyping which would not have been less than some \$800, may now be issued at a price to place it within the reach of all. For the sake of promoting its widest circulation, an arrangement has been made with the American Tract Society to publish the volume—the Committee being furnished with copies for distribution at the cost of paper, printing, and binding. The volume will meet a positive want in the libraries of all ministers and students of this question; there being no considerable work extant in this country on the subject. After an unique and instructive *resumé* of the *literature* of the Sabbath and of the controversies which have arisen during past centuries—the result of a quarter of a century of research in the libraries of Europe—Gilfillan treats of the Sabbath in the light of Reason, Revelation, and History. The discussion is genial and scholarly, and it is free alike from the angularity of extreme Puritan views, and the latitudinarianism of Broad Church speculations. Its influence cannot but be to settle the opinions of intelligent readers on the firm foundations of Divine teachings and human experience, as to all the mooted questions pertaining to the Sabbath.

The plans of the Committee for the diffusion of this work will be matured and announced in due time.

Clerical Co-operation.

With the view of enlisting the pulpit in the advocacy of the Lord's Day, the Secretary visited several of the annual ecclesiastical meetings held in the Spring of 1861–2. The General Assembly of the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church, meeting in May, 1861; the Presbyterian General Assembly at Philadelphia, and that at Syracuse, in the same month, and the general Synod of the Ref. Dutch church at Brooklyn, in June, were successively addressed: and resolutions of the most cordial character were passed by most of these important bodies. The meetings of the Presbyterian General Assembly at Columbus; of the Connecticut and Massachusetts General Associations, (Cong.) at Norwalk and New Bedford; the Maine General Conference, at Portland; the General Synod of the Ref. Dutch church, at Syracuse, and other bodies, were visited and addressed in the spring and early summer of 1862. The clerical members of all these bodies, and the several members of the House of Bishops, and of the House of Clerical Delegates of the Triennial Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, meeting in New York city, and of the annual convention

of the Diocese of Ohio, were each supplied with a copy of "the Christian Sabbath," and with copies of the Committee's Documents. The Massachusetts Conference of Churches was also visited in the early autumn. Not far from one thousand copies of the volume of Sabbath Sermons were thus placed in the hands to prize and use this able auxiliary to an effective pulpit discussion of the Sabbath question. At the request of a member of the House of Bishops, its members were also furnished with a copy each of the bound volume of the Committee's Documents, for which, as for "the Christian Sabbath," cordial expressions of thanks were communicated. The clergy of this city were also presented with copies of the volume of Sabbath Sermons.

The Committee would reiterate the expression of their belief, that the interest awakened in the public mind by the progress of the Sabbath reform, the events of the war, and the utterances of civil and military authorities, is eminently favorable to a thorough discussion of this subject in the pulpits of our land: and they rely confidently on this as the most powerful, because the divinely appointed instrumentality for moulding the national sentiment into principled and undying attachment to an institution vitally related to the prosperity of the church, and indispensable to the safe working of a free government.

Public Meetings.

The only public Sabbath meeting it has been thought expedient to hold in this city within the past two years was that of German citizens in Cooper Institute, previously alluded to; and only occasional meetings have been held elsewhere. The most important of these were those held at *Saratoga*, August, 1862, the Hon. Luther Bradish in the chair, with addresses by the Secretary and the Rev. Drs. Hodge of Princeton, and Durbin of New York—followed by the conference and action of the friends of the Sabbath from various parts of the country, noticed in Doc. No. XXII.; at *Rochester*, N. Y., Prof. C. Dewey in the chair, with addresses by the Rev. Dr. Claxton, the Rev. Prof. Robinson, and Fred. Starr, Esq.; and at *Washington*, D. C., Rev. Dr. Gurley in the chair, with addresses by Wm. E. Dodge, Esq., of New York, Senator Willey, of W. Va., the Hon. Mr. Odell, M. C., Major-General Casey, U. S. A., and Rear-Admiral Foote, U. S. N.

The correspondent of the *New York Daily Times* thus alludes to one of the striking addresses at the Washington meeting:

"The veteran Gen. Casey responded to an invitation for his testimony. 'I have been thirty-six years in the military service of my country,' said he, 'and I know that the army needs a Sabbath. I was five years in the Florida war. In long marches, better time will be

made, and the men will go through in better condition by resting on the Sabbath, than by continuous marching. No prudent general will plan for a Sunday battle. I would appeal to the American people to save our Sabbath. If our wealth should be lost in this terrible war, it may be recovered. If our young men are killed off, others will grow up and take their places: **BUT IF OUR AMERICAN SABBATH IS LOST, IT CAN NEVER BE RESTORED, AND ALL IS LOST.** The audience was affected to tears by these sententious words from the gray-headed warrior."

THE BIENNIAL MEETING of the Committee was held in the Fifth Avenue Collegiate Church, April 26th, '63, and was largely attended. The Chairman presided, and addressed the meeting. A statement of the facts of the past two years was made by the Secretary. Addresses were delivered by John E. Parsons, Esq., of the Committee, and the Rev. J. T. Duryea. Wordsworth's beautiful Hymn for the Sabbath was sung by the congregation, with fine effect.

Sabbath Documents.

The following documents have been issued during the past two years, and their circulation has been extensive and useful. No. 15, "*The Civil Sabbath Restored*," 32 pp., 8vo.; No. 16, "*German Meeting in Cooper Institute*," (in German,) 32 pp.; No. 17, "*The Sabbath in War*," 4 pp.; No. 18, "*Constitutional Basis of our Sunday Laws*," 4 pp.; No. 19, "*Plea for the Sabbath in War*," 8 pp.; No. 20, "*The Sabbath and the Pulpit*," 8 pp.; No. 21, "*First Five Years' of the Sabbath Reform*," 16 pp.; No. 22, "*The Sabbath in the Army and Navy*," 4 pp.; No. 23, "*The Soldiers' and Sailors' Sabbath*," 4 pp. The series as far as No. 21 has been gathered into a goodly 8vo volume, of which a few hundred copies have been placed in the hands of donors, public libraries, and correspondents in Europe.

Finances.

The operations of the Committee have been adequately sustained from the outset, without resort to the general public, and without asking for a single public collection. Friends of the object, who were familiar with the Committee's plans, have generously contributed to the Treasury the means required. It has thus been made practicable to dis sever from the enterprises severally undertaken all association with pecuniary charity, and to secure a measure of unity and vigor of public sentiment, not easily attainable where demonstrations stand related, more or less immediately, to financial wants. At the same time, the formidable combinations opposed to this

reform have been left in salutary apprehension of unknown, if not unlimited, resources for the prosecution of reformatory measures. The desire of the Committee is to continue this novel system, the benefits of which are manifold; and they would commend it to kindred organizations as a relief from many embarrassments.

The Committee's Library.

After a protracted correspondence with the owner of a valuable collection of works on the Sabbath Question, the Library of the Committee has been enriched by the purchase of 141 volumes, embracing more than one hundred British and three hundred American treatises, and containing 37,356 pages. The utter deficiency of works on this subject in our principal public libraries, and the lack of any considerable collection of a similar character in this country, gives great value to this acquisition. It is the purpose of the Committee to preserve the collection intact, and to increase it from time to time until it shall embrace the extant literature of the Sabbath. A generous friend, whose name is only known to a single member of the Committee, on learning the fact of this purchase, contributed the amount (\$250) requisite to complete the transaction.

THE SABBATH IN OTHER STATES.

PENNSYLVANIA.—The city Railway system of Philadelphia is conducted in obedience to law—with no serious attempt to run Sunday trains. The unanimous vote of the stockholders of one of the lines against such a measure seems to have been accepted as final with all the companies. An effort was made in the Legislature of 1861–2 to repeal the Sunday laws of the State; but it utterly failed.

OHIO.—The Cincinnati Sabbath Committee prosecuted their work for a season, with hopeful results. The acceptance of a call to the pastoral relation left them without a secretary, and their recent movements have not been reported to this Committee. The following gratifying proof of a growing regard for the Sabbath is taken from the *Cincinnati Gazette*:

“Heretofore there has been no Sabbath with the pork trade. We are now happy to be able to state that there is to be a change in this respect. A paper was drawn up yesterday, and generally signed by packers, in which the subscribers pledge themselves not to pack hogs on the Sabbath, or receive hogs slaughtered on that day. Several of the slaughterers have signified their readiness to coöperate in the movement. It is to be hoped that all the establish-

ments will unite in it, and that hereafter the pork trade will have a Sabbath."

The cattle-dealers in Chicago, we are informed, were induced some time since by one of their number who saw the folly of seven days' working when others enjoyed their day of rest, to forego all business on Sunday. There is abundant need for other like movements in that enterprising city.

The owners of the prosperous salt works recently established at Saginaw, Mich., are understood to have the matter under consideration, and are expected to decide the question as interest and duty both prompt. In the long run, no business ever prospered by stealing a sacred day for secular puposes.

CALIFORNIA.—A protracted struggle in California between the friends and foes of the Sabbath has reached an auspicious end. As early as 1851 an effort was made in the Common Council of San Francisco to restrain gross offences; but it was unavailing. The matter came before the Legislature in 1853, and a Sunday law passed the Senate, but failed in the House by a tie vote. The effort also failed at the three succeeding sessions. But in 1858 the pressure of public sentiment was overwhelming, and a statute was enacted—to be nullified by the Supreme Court, Judge Terry presiding, as unconstitutional. In 1861 another law was passed and its constitutionality affirmed. Strenuous efforts were made for its repeal, and the State was convulsed by the agitation. In no State of the Union have the friends of good order had a fiercer opposition to encounter, and in none have they been more true, determined, or successful. Though imperfect in some of its provisions, the law stands to protect that new and growing community from the selfishness and godlessness of the classes most inimical to the public welfare. The first jury trial under it resulted in the conviction of the Sunday rumseller, whose traffic was carried on through a back door.

It was in the midst of this contest that a well-known actress in San Francisco refused to play on Sunday nights, saying in her card: "I would rather be, as I am, deprived of my engagement—which was averaging \$771 a night—than to act in violation of law, and my own conviction of right."

In NEVADA, Governor Nye's first message to the territorial Legislature recommended the enactment of suitable Sunday laws for the restraint of the vicious. The Governor was formerly a member of the Police Commission in New York, and thus had opportunity to observe the effects of such legislation.

THE SABBATH ABROAD.

CANADA.—The Reports of the Kingston Sabbath Reformation Society have been forwarded to the Committee. They indicate earnestness in this important work. Partly through the influence of this Society, the Postmaster-General of Canada authorised the closing of Post-Offices on the Lord's day, and the arrangement is general and satisfactory. Other organizations of a kindred character exist in the neighboring Provinces; but our correspondence with them is less frequent and intimate than is desirable.

ENGLAND.—The Lord's Day Observance Society, the Sunday Rest Association, and kindred organizations in England, have been active in their efforts during the past two years. The particular issues which have engaged their attention have been the following:

Crystal Palace.—The "Sunday League"—under which title the enemies of the Sabbath are organized—having succeeded in carrying a majority in favor of opening the Crystal Palace to visitors on Sunday, energetic measures were undertaken to restrain the evils thus caused. The privilege of access being restricted to share-holders, the general public has no unusual temptation to Sabbath-desecration. The attempt to evade the law, so that 40,000 admissions were granted on Trinity Sunday '61, created so strong a feeling of opposition that the wrong was not repeated. The average number of Sunday visitors to the Palace in 1862 had been less than 70.

Hyde Park Bands.—The "League" succeeded in introducing Sunday Bands in Hyde Park in spite of formidable deputations to the Chief Commissioner. The scandal has been continued, so that the godless population of the metropolis have had a rallying-point every week. The natural result was reached at last in monster riots—"Irish Rroughs" on one side and Garibaldian sympathisers on the other—the 200,000 visitors of Hyde Park terrified by the contest in which soldiers, policemen, and rioters shared, and in consequence of which "a large number of persons were wounded, and the various surgeries in the neighborhood were crowded with parties waiting to have their wounds dressed." The Secretary of the Lord's Day Observance Society took occasion to renew the request that the Government would exclude from the public parks all who gather crowds on Sunday, whether for political, musical, or religious purposes.

The attempt by the "League" to open the British Museum on Sunday failed.

Sunday Trading.—A vigorous effort was made to carry a Bill through Parliament against Sunday Trading. But Government

refused its support, and it is believed to have failed. The agitation of the question was not without benefit, however, and under more favorable auspices may succeed.

Sunday Excursion Trains.—A memorial from the Archbishops and Bishops to the Directors of Railways radiating from London, entreating them to discontinue the running of excursion trains on the Lord's Day, dated Dec., 1862, resulted in the cessation of the trains on the Southwestern Railway, and in an animated discussion of the whole question in the public journals. The fact came to light that 783 trains left London or arrived on a given Sunday!* The neighboring places of resort were demoralized by this process, and remonstrances came from them against the emptying of metropolitan vice in their streets. The subject is still agitated.

Sunday-Keeping Cabs.—Encouraging progress has been made in securing a rest-day for cab-men and omnibus drivers. Of the 5,662 licensed cabs in London, 1,865 rest on the Sabbath. Two missionaries are employed for cabmen, who circulated 2,000 Testaments among them. The cabman who gained the highest of three prizes of \$25, \$50, and \$100, for a premium Tract on "Sunday Rest by Cabmen," was a recent convert of this mission, and wrote his Tract on the top of his cab.

Sunday Liquor-Selling.—A movement is now on foot to arrest this evil. Petitions are circulating, praying for a law prohibiting the sale of intoxicating liquors between the hours of 11 o'clock on Saturday night and 6 o'clock on Monday morning, based on the beneficent results of the Forbes Mackenzie Act in Scotland.

Sunday Funerals have been mostly discontinued, "the directors of the principal incorporated cemetery companies having resolved that no interment shall take place in their respective cemeteries on the Sabbath Day." Our over-worked American clergy would rejoice if a like determination were made by the directors of our cemeteries.

The following extract of the note of the Rev. Alfred Jones, Secretary of the Metropolitan Sunday Rest Association, in acknowledgment of publications forwarded by the Sabbath Committee, will be read with interest:

London, England. Sept. 19, '62.

"MY DEAR SIR: Your kind note was most acceptable and most encouraging, and I beg to offer my best thanks, and the thanks of the Committee of the Sunday Rest Association, to whom I read it, the Right Hon. Lord Chelmsford being in the chair.

* "Excursion trains," which were formerly frequent, are not run by any of the railways radiating from New York; a single train with the United States mail on each road being the limit of passenger traffic.

I beg also to thank you for your papers and books which I have received from time to time. These are of great value. The various documents and sermons sent are of the highest character, and I wish that copies of them could be sown broad-cast throughout this boasted land of the Sabbath.

"During the last half-century, great havoc has been made on the Sunday observance by various classes; and the law as it now stands, is not able to grapple with them. We have been struggling for thirty years to alter this law, but hitherto without success. I think the reason of it was, that in the outset they confounded the civil and religious aspects of the question. It was taken up and advocated on religious grounds alone, and there arose the cry against making people religious by act of Parliament. This, however, is not my view of the matter. Though I believe in the perpetual obligation of the law of the Sabbath, as part and parcel of the moral law, yet I endeavor to maintain this question on civil and public grounds. I greatly admire your papers for the clear and perspicuous way they have treated this question on these two points.

"Dr. Vinton's sermon on the Civil Relations of the Sabbath, is a master-piece of reasoning; and it is as eloquent as reasonable. * * * I also greatly admire the sermon of Rev. H. D. Ganse, on the Duties of the Sabbath. I read it almost without breathing. It was on a Sunday evening I read it, and every thing around was sanctified by the evening light of the Sabbath. The Sabbath seemed holier, and sanctified everything else. The Christian world are deeply indebted to those five gentlemen for their labors for the Lord's day; and I should like to thank them all personally if I could, and if it was not presumptuous on my part to do so.

Extract from Rev. Mr. Jones' Letter, April 9, 1863.

"The success of your struggle for Sunday liberty is our stronghold, and our encouragement to hold out against the enemy of light and rest and truth. Your Sunday literature is in advance of ours, and I wish I could send over a check for a good round sum, in order to give to every member of Parliament a copy of the American Documents on the Sunday question, and the five excellent Sermons on the Lord's Day. I said, 'members of Parliament,' but, I ought to have said of the Clergy also; for I very much fear that the religious, philosophical, and political reasons for the seventh day of Rest or the Christian Sunday are far from being well understood. Indeed, there is profound ignorance on the question, and alas, where it ought not to be discovered. May the Committee in New York go on in their work of Sunday Reformation, and from you may the world welcome the light of the Day of days.

"I am very anxious that our Association and your Sabbath Committee should in some way or other be brought into closer relationship. We have a blessed work in hand; the redemption of the seventh part of millions of lives from ceaseless toil, and the consecration of it to God the Blessed author of it. I propose to give a full account of your work in our Report in June, and shall be most glad to receive any fresh information you can give me. In the night of Him who blesses every effort for the sanctification of His Holy Day, I trust we shall both work, and obtain all we desire in our respective countries.

"I am making an effort to bring all the Sunday Societies in England and throughout Europe into union with us, that by union we may strengthen each other's hands in this glorious work, and I shall be much obliged if you can aid me in this great design, for I believe it will tend to spread the blessings of the Lord's Day wherever the union takes place."

SCOTLAND.—The principal fact worthy of note in Sabbath-keeping Scotland is the complete success of the "Forbes Mackenzie Act,"

designed to suppress the Sunday traffic in liquors. So important was the result, and so conflicting the impressions as to its practical effects, that a Royal commission was appointed to investigate and report the facts. The advocates of Sunday dram-selling in New York cited the "demoralizing" effects of this act in their "Remonstrance against the enforcement of the Sunday Liquor Law," addressed to the Police Commissioners, and in their resolutions at the Stadt Theatre meeting, as conclusive against the measures urged by the Sabbath Committee. The facts reported by the "Commission" are of interest, then, on this side of the Atlantic. They are to the following effect :

1. That the consumption of spirits had decreased under the operation of the Mackenzie Act, to the extent of 7,000,000 of gallons in five years—that is from 36,000,000 to 29,000,000 ; but if increase of population be computed, the decrease would be 11,000,000 gallons.

2. "Employers of labor [we quote from the Report,] and workmen themselves, were unanimous in testifying to the great improvement that has taken place in the regularity of the attendance at work on Monday morning ; and many publicans examined before us expressed themselves as grateful for the existing law, regarding the cessation of business on Sunday as a boon, of which they would not willingly be deprived."

3. The diminution of Sunday crime has been most marked. "Under the old law, when the public houses were open on Sundays, there occurred 11,471 cases of drunkenness alone, or of drunkenness combined with crime ; and during the same period of time, under the operation of the new law, the number of cases fell to 4,299." In Glasgow, Sunday drunkenness was 4,082 ; same period (3 years) under the new law 1,466. Such has been the effect of the Mackenzie Act, as officially reported by an unprejudiced Commission of Parliament.

Were there unity of plan and action among our Judicial and Executive authorities, so as to give complete certainty to our laws, we might hope for economical results as marked as the instance noted by Major Giberne of the British army in a late speech in Bath, England : "Before the Forbes-Mackenzie Act came into operation," said he, "application had been made for the expenditure of £12,000 on a gaol ; but that act so diminished crime that *the money for the gaol was not wanted, and the old one was but half filled.*"

FRANCE.—Various indications have been given of a recoil from the extreme laxity of Sabbath observance which has so long characterized the French nation. In church and state there is manifest restiveness under the "bad eminence" attained in this form of

wickedness; so that reformatory measures might hope to gain footing were they wisely planned. We note a few significant facts.

A ministerial note was addressed to the *Ami de la Religion*—which had reproached the Government for employing an army of workmen every Sunday—denying that any State works are continued on Sundays unless exceptional circumstances render it absolutely necessary. Contractors on city works are under an obligation to discontinue their operations on Sundays and *fête* days, and all the contracts contain a clause to that effect. The note also asserts that contractors for demolitions, in remodeling the plan of Paris, make themselves liable to a fine of three hundred francs, if they continue their operations on Sundays.

“In the Cathedral of Notre Dame,” says a late writer, “I read a recent proclamation by the Archbishop of Paris in favor of Sabbath-keeping. The import of it was, that the Christian world had long pointed at the French as a people without religion; that Sabbath observance was indispensable for religion, but had lamentably gone out of use,” etc.

Abbé Mullois, chaplain to the Empress of France, in a recent discourse on the Sunday question, observed that the neglect of rest on the Sabbath day, according to the commandment, brought on premature old age; and added these suggestive thoughts: “Who in these days of money seeking, cares for the old? Who would employ weak arms when young and strong ones are demanding their turn? Old age at fifty was one of the features of the day, one ever recurring to his notice in his intercourse with the poor. Public and private charities were insufficient to keep from want the thousands who on this ground could no longer find employment.”

Thus, the experiment of a godless holiday Sunday, instead of a restful, refreshing holy day Sabbath, proves a confessed failure. The human constitution was not framed for perpetual exertion or dissipation. If not wound up weekly it runs down and *wears out*. “Old age at fifty is one of the features of the day,” says Eugénie’s chaplain. What a feature! what a commentary on the homeless, sabbathless, godless life of Paris and of France! What a lesson of warning for Sabbath-keeping nations!

SWITZERLAND.—The meeting of the Evangelical Alliance at Geneva, which brought together many of the most eminent Christian men of Europe, was an auspicious event for the Sabbath in Switzerland and over the Continent. One of the sessions was set apart for the consideration of the Lord’s Day and the means of sanctification. Able papers on the subject were read by Pastor Godet, of Neufchatel, and the Rev. Dr. Thompson, of Edinboro’—the latter unfolding the

true idea of the Scottish Sabbath, and vindicating it from innumerable misrepresentations. The discussion was continued in French and English, and resulted in such quickened interest that "a Society for the Sanctification of the Sabbath," was formed in Geneva; discourses were delivered in the pulpits, and a work of reform was begun which has extended into Cantons Vaud, Neuchâtel, Berne, Basle, and other parts of Switzerland, and into Germany. A well-informed foreign Journal says: "The attention of the Christian communities in Switzerland is fully awakened to the sinfulness of the manner in which they have allowed the Lord's Day to be neglected and even desecrated, and their leading men are making their best exertions, by precept and example, to instruct the people as to their duties in respect to Sabbath observance."

GERMANY.—The Committee have sifted their German documents into Germany, with the hope that sympathy might be kindled with the views coming to be cherished by the Anglo-German churches on the Sabbath question; and that the monstrous excesses of our sabbathless emigration might react on the more Christian portion of the fatherland. The following extract from a note of a truly excellent and eminent German Professor will show that this hope has not been disappointed. He writes: "The labors of the New York Sabbath Committee, of which we have a new and abiding literary monument in the volume of Sabbath Sermons, have certainly been most successful. They could hardly have been more so. The success extends beyond this country. I will give you a proof of which you may be ignorant as yet. The New Evangelical Church Gazette, Berlin, April, 1862, has an able and earnest article on 'Sabbath Reform,' where the labors of the Sabbath Committee are intelligibly explained, highly commended, and held up for imitation to Protestant Germany and Europe. It is evidently an editorial article. This is a cheering sign of the times. The day may indeed not be distant when an energetic movement of Sabbath reform may commence in the heart of Europe. God will raise up his own instruments in due season, and, perhaps, give you some additional work."

ASIA MINOR.—An Armenian missionary gives some facts as to the progress of Sabbath observance among both Greeks and Armenians, significant of the advancing power of the Gospel in the East. The market-day of the Turks has been the sacred day of the Christians. By degrees, however, the Turkish Government has yielded to the demand of the increasing Christian element, and has transferred to Tuesday the former traffic of Sunday. An attempt to introduce this reform in Aidin aroused the hostility of the resident

Moslems, and they carried their opposition so far as to stone the palace of the Governor, and to demand his removal on this account. The Governor had the nerve to disperse the traffickers and to forbid their coming again on Sunday; and, when disobeyed, he arrested the offenders and confiscated their wares.

CONCLUSION.

This review of the facts of these two years in the history of the Sabbath Reform suggests reflections like these :

The distinction between the *civil* Sabbath—with its constitutional basis and its legal safeguards, and the *sacred* Sabbath—with its claims on the conscience and its divine sanctions, has been made so clear as to paralyze opposition, and to relieve the Sabbath Question of its principal embarrassments. Popular prejudice and class-interest never succeeded in making a stand against reasonable Sabbath views except as they conceived or represented them as infringing on the rights of conscience. “Making people religious by law,” “compelling men to go to church,” and like phrases, have been the cant modes in which the Sunday papers and the advocates of Sunday vices have branded every attempt to preserve the public peace and order on the Sabbath. But this senseless clamor ceased at last, when it became apparent to the dullest mind that the utmost limit of legal intervention extends no farther than to secure the *rights* of all citizens to one day in seven of undisturbed repose and worship, freed from open temptations to vice and crime; and that all beyond is within the acknowledged domain of conscience, to be invaded only by argument and the exposition of divine truth.

The nature of our institutions is such as to render this discrimination of vital moment. Their influence has been to foster a just apprehension of legislative interference with the rights of conscience. Our foreign immigrant classes, not unnaturally, transfer their hostility against “church and state” alliances to all legislation respecting interests even remotely identified with religion. But even they are coming to learn that the divorce of “church and state” in this country implies no hostility to, but is rather for the sake of morals and religion; and that for its stability and safety society needs and must have the support of such institutions as marriage and the Sabbath—though one may involve an ecclesiastical *rite*, and the other recognizes a distinctively christian *right*. Our English correspondent, previously quoted, illustrates the mischiefs of confounding things that differ, when speaking of a “vain struggle of thirty years” because “in the outset they *confounded the civil and religious aspects of the question*. It was taken up and advocated on religious grounds alone,” he says, “and there arose the cry of making people religious

by act of Parliament." The whole policy of the committee has been to avoid this mistake, and thus to take away the last plea of selfishness in its claim on "the poor man's day." Happily the higher courts of law were pure and enlightened enough to expound the constitution and laws in the light of principles as enduring as time. "The People's Day" is vindicated: The Lord's Day is safe in the keeping of its Author and His followers.

The avoidance of political entanglements, while combatting flagrant and organized wrongs, has afforded the committee much satisfaction. Innumerable appeals have been made to party; and it would have been easy, on many occasions, by accepting the false issues tendered by the enemies of the Sabbath, to have plunged into a political war, and to have thus wrecked a beneficent reform. But the steadfast adherence to an object of common concern to all good citizens, and persistent opposition to such abuses as no party could safely protect, has rendered abortive every attempt to involve the Sunday question in the partizan conflicts of the state. Executive and judicial officers of all parties have shown equal firmness in defending a common precious inheritance. We shall have to reach a far deeper depth of political degeneracy before any considerable organization will plant itself on the platform of "Sunday-Rum," "Sunday Theatres," "No. Sunday-at-all."

One of the most encouraging aspects of the period under review has been the stand taken by the *Christian Germans* in support of our Sunday Laws, and in opposition to the demoralizing practices of the Beer-Garden classes. The demonstration of 3,000 Germans at Cooper Institute, and the earnest and numerous remonstrances against the repeal movement, revealed the existence of a powerful element in sympathy with just Sabbath views, in a quarter little anticipated by the enemies of good morals. On every account, it would seem wise to foster and encourage this important interest.

The disappearance of virulent opposers of this reform from the field furnishes an occasion for alluding to them. The only Journal in this country specifically devoted to the Sabbath question—and to the wrong side of the question—has ceased its issues. From being a decent advocate of Seventh-Day or Saturday-Sabbath views, it became the ally of Sunday dram-sellers, and the organ of the Sunday-theatre interest—its last utterances being those of deposed "clergymen" from the stage of the Stadt-theatre in favor of free-drinking! The principal living agent of no-Sunday demonstrations also subsided soon after: his efforts for three or four years to misrepresent and oppose a beneficent reform having been as futile as they were unscrupulous. The Sunday press, too, became discouraged, apparently, in its attempts to arrest the progress of measures for the public

welfare, and its assaults have become feeble and infrequent. Inasmuch as no single effort of the Committee was ever impeded by the course of these parties, singly or combined, their withdrawal from the field is of little account other than as an indication of the hopelessness of the bad cause they unwittingly helped to ruin.

The Providential prominence given to the Sabbath by the events of the war has constrained public attention to the claims of this fundamental institution, as never before. Through all the ranks of the army and navy, among soldiers' families, and in every Christian circle, the question of Sunday battles and of Sabbath rest has been discussed. The President, and his Generals, and the secular press, and struggling armies, and memorable Providences have been the nation's Preachers. Rebel chieftains, even, have echoed the message from on high: "Remember the Sabbath-day to keep it holy."

We know not what may betide us as a people. The terrible conflict in which we are engaged, and its mighty issues, are under the control of the God of nations. That we are entering on a period of transition can be little doubted. The moral and political changes wrought by a stupendous civil war must affect the future character of the country for many generations. But a secure anchorage in the American Sabbath, may, under God, keep to its moorings the whole system of civil and religious institutions dependent on its stability and sanctity. That lost, "it can never be restored, and all is lost," rang out from the lips of a veteran warrior who defends the Capital from a rebel army. "The American character and our glorious institutions will go down into the same grave that entombs the Sabbath," was the deliberate warning of one of New England's wisest and greatest divines. Scripture and Providence and History confirm these patriotic and Christian utterances, and impel us to save our Sabbath if we could save our country.

NORMAN WHITE, *Chairman.*

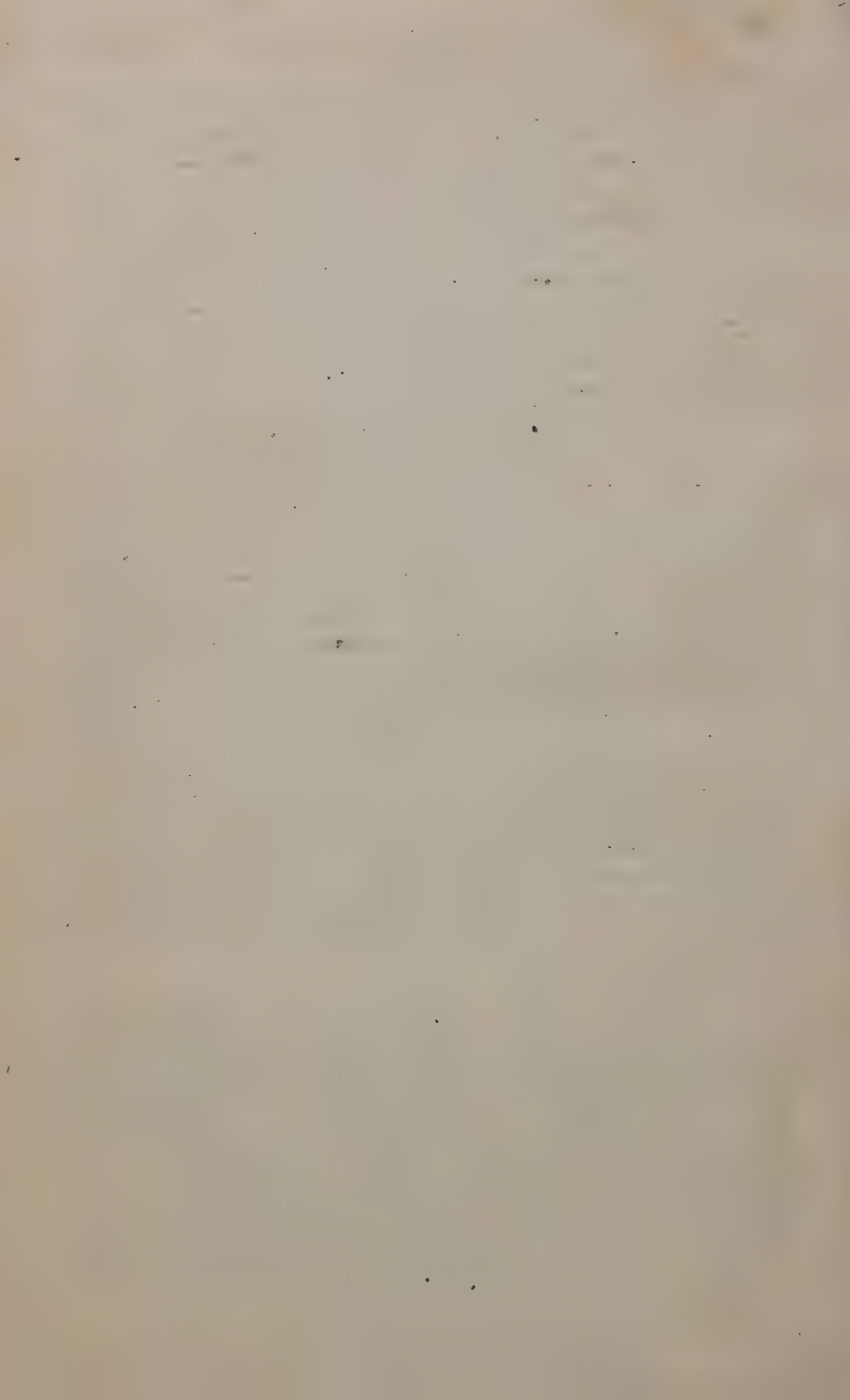
HENRY J. BAKER,	JNO. ELLIOTT,	OTIS D. SWAN,
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Office of the SABBATH COMMITTEE, No. 5, Bible House.



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- *Gov. Andrew's Address - 1865*
- *Reply to N. A. Review.*
- Prof. Bartlett's Appeal for Ministers.*
- Review of Dr. Anderson's Book.*
- In memory of Rev. John I. Coit,*
Sermon on his Death.
- Hawaiian Miss. Association.*
- Fairbanks on the War.*
- Discourse on the Will, Dunn*
- Gov. Washburn's Address - 1862.*
- Anderson's Letter to Dr. Canfield.*
- Prentiss' Address at Brunswick.*
- Prof. Packard's Address - do.*
- Civil & Sacred Sabbath.*

